

NARRATIVE  
OF VARIOUS JOURNEYS  
IN  
BALOCHISTAN, AFGHANISTAN,  
THE PANJAB, & KALÂT,

*During a Residence in those Countries.*

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE INSURRECTION AT KALÂT, AND A MEMOIR ON  
EASTERN BALOCHISTAN.

---

BY CHARLES MASSON, Esq.

ILLUSTRATED WITH A LARGE MAP AND NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS

IN FOUR VOLUMES

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# NARRATIVE

OF A

## JOURNEY TO KALÂT,

INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF  
THE INSURRECTION IN BALOCHISTAN, ETC.

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### CHAPTER I.

Objects of Journey.—Determination of route.—State of the country.—Capt. Outram's narrative.—Imputations on Réhim Khân.—Departure from Karáchí.—Route to Súnmiání.—Reception at Súnmiání.—Interview with the Jám.—Darbár.—Department of Réhim Khân.—State of feeling in Las.—Interview with Réhim Khân.—His satisfaction.—Exculpation of Réhim Khân.—Departure from Súnmiání.—Incidents at Obádí.—Whirlwind.—Arrival at Béla.—Delays and disastrous rumours.—Indecision of my companion.—His departure.—Mehráb Khân's brother.—Capt. Wallace's letter.—Lieut. Loveday's messenger.—Interview with Mehráb Khân's brother.—His distress and intentions.—Departure from Béla.—Reflections on the uncertainty existing in Las.—The appointment of an agency and its abolition.

HAVING despatched for publication in England a variety of manuscripts, in the early part of 1840, I found myself at Karáchí, in Sind, as I supposed free to move where I pleased; and with reference to further literary and scientific projects I determined, with the unemployed materials in my possession, to

return to Kâbal, and the countries to which they related, judging I could there arrange them for the press with accuracy and advantage. I was also desirous to continue my antiquarian researches—with the due prosecution of which government employ had interfered,—and to carry out the examination of certain points I felt assured to be within the power of verification; which, for the same reason, I had been compelled to neglect. I estimated that a period of two years in Afghânistân would suffice for my objects, and that I should be altogether about three years absent.

Disposed to take the road to Kalât, which I had twice before travelled, it behoved me to ascertain if I could do so prudently: being, of course, aware that a new order of things prevailed, and it was possible that recent political accidents might have caused, amongst the people I should meet, feelings to which, ten years ago, they were strangers. Moreover, Réhim Khân, son of the Minghal sirdâr, Walí Máhoméd Khân, slain at Kalât, was now residing in Las, and in power, from having married a sister of the young chief, or jám, as he is entitled.

In this suspence, my former companion, Kâlikdád, with whom I made my first journey to Kalât, as related in my work before the public,\* visited Karáchí on his commercial business. I could have

\* Vide vol. ii. chap. 2, Journeys in Balochistân, Afghânistân, and the Panjâb, &c.



no better counsellor; and on communing with him he encouraged me, and well remarked, that he should himself be with me. I had heretofore experienced that his company was sufficient protection.

At this time the Government of India was intensely anxious it should be believed, that every object of the expedition beyond the Indus had been attained; that the countries affected by it were in a state of quiet and happiness hitherto unknown, and that their inhabitants hailed with delight the innovations introduced amongst them, and the changes which had been brought about. The ministers in England were eager to circulate the same impressions, whether in the houses of Parliament or at other public meetings. I had, however, doubts upon these points, which led me to interrogate Kâlikdád as to the amount of force at Quetta and Kalât, when, learning that there were twelve hundred men at the first place and two hundred at the latter, I felt easy, as there could then be little apprehension of any immediate outbreak. That there was a large force at Kândahár, as well as at Kâbal, I was myself informed. Kâlikdád, indeed, admitted that the Bráhuí and Baloch tribes, while passive, were in a sad state of irritation, more particularly on account of the annexation of Kach Gandâva to the dominions of Shâh Sújâh al Múlkh. He farther told me, that Mír Azem, the brother of the late Mehráb Khân, was at Béla in Las, sub-

sisting on the slender bounty of the jám, and that Máhoméd Hassan, the young son of the late Kalât ruler, was a fugitive at Khárân, accompanied by Dárogah Gúl Máhoméd. As regarded the government of Kalât, he knew nothing more than that Shâh Nawâz Khân was seated there, but whether as an independent chief, or merely holding authority on trust, he could not tell; and all other arrangements respecting the country were equally enigmatical to him.

I concerted with the merchant to accompany his kâfila, about to form at Súnmiání, as far as Béla, and thence together to proceed rapidly to Kalât; it being his desire to look after his land there, and mine to gain a cool and agreeable climate. The kâfila was to follow leisurely, and in company therewith my servants and effects. Kâlikdád returned to Súnmiání, promising to write when the kâfila was ready, and to inform me as to the reception I might expect from Réhim Khân. In process of time I received two letters from him, affirming generally that all was right, but not specifically mentioning Réhim Khân, or the temper he was in. In my solicitude to be moving, I did not criticise too narrowly the deficiency in these epistles, and put the most favourable construction on them, that, if there had been evil, Kâlikdád would have reported it, knowing, besides, that he was personally intimate with the chief.

A night or two before I left Karáchí I dined

with Captain Wallace, assistant political agent, Major Forbes, commanding the 2nd Bombay grenadiers, and Captain Le Mesurier, of the quarter-master-general's department. The latter was good enough to give me a sight of Captain Outram's published narrative, which, including a flying trip from Kalât to Súnmiání, he judged would interest me. The concluding paragraph of that *brochure*, in truth, contained matter to arrest my attention, as it related to this very Réhim Khân, of whose disposition I had doubts, which Kâlikdád had not by his letters removed.

Captain Outram writes—"From Curachee I proceeded to Bombay, and not many days after my arrival there a party of Beloeche horse-dealers also landed, who had embarked at Sonmeanee very shortly after my departure from that seaport. They state, that at midnight of the evening on which I sailed, the son of Wullee Máhomed Khân, (the chief of Wudd, who was slain at the storm of Khe-lat,) arrived in great haste, with a party, in pursuit of me; and, on learning that I had already gone, displayed extreme disappointment and irritation. It would appear, that information of my journey, and disguise, had been received by this chief the day after I passed through Nall. To the forced march of fifty miles, therefore, which was made thence by our party, with the design of outstripping the flying tidings of the overthrow of Khe-lat, I may consider myself principally indebted for my escape; my pur-

suers having missed me at the seaport of Sonmeanee only by a few hours."

Although I could not doubt that Captain Outram had received the information he speaks of from the horse-dealers, I was willing to hope they had misinformed him. I knew no more of Réhim Khân than that he was the son of an estimable father; but reflecting on the obligations to avenge blood, which are remarkably stringent upon the tribes of the Bráhuí community, and on the course which Réhim Khân was likely to adopt in his situation, I could conceive it possible that he might have sought to gratify his revenge in the hills between Béla and Nall, but could hardly credit that he would venture upon such a step upon the soil of Las; for there the equally stringent obligation to respect the interests of the young jám would have deterred him. Besides, in Las, whatever influence Réhim Khân possessed, he was still an alien, and too many persons were concerned to have allowed him, by so rash an action, to have brought down vengeance upon them and their little province.

I had no fear of Réhim Khân at Las, but Réhim Khân in the hills was to be suspected; however, confiding on Kálikdád and my own good fortune, I decided to prosecute the journey, for which I was prepared, without waiting for further explanation.

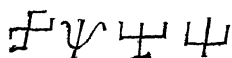
On the evening of the 30th of April I left Káráchí, attended by an old servant, Rasúl, a Kásh-mírian, and a chance companion, a hâjí of Ghazní,

who attached himself to us with the idea of being provided for on his journey homeward. I had also engaged the services to Súnmiáni of two guides across the country; while their camels served to lighten the loads on my own animals, of which I numbered three. I was mounted on an excellent Kábal horse, and my people were on foot. I was attired in my ordinary Kábal costume, but never intended to conceal for a moment, if that were possible, that I was a Feringhí.

Our road led across the level plain, until we approached low detached hills, preceding the valley of the Hab river. During the night we came upon a party of men, so soundly asleep on the road-side that we did not arouse them in passing, although Bádil, a young lad, one of the guides, who was in advance, leading the camels, carolled blithly as he trudged along. The day dawned upon us in the Hab valley before we had reached the river. There was ample space, and the surface, chequered with stunted trees and bushes, afforded good camel forage, and much grass for other cattle. We descried no huts or habitations, but columns of smoke ascending in various parts above the scanty foliage of the scenery around, indicated where they might be found. From Karáchí to the valley the milky túr-bush, or prickly pear, had never failed; and now we had dwarf trees, as bérs, karérs, and mimosas. The bed of the river was wide and sandy, but at this time without a continued stream of water in it.

The valley, in its placid and serene aspect, opposed a strong contrast to that exhibited in the upper part of the course of the river, which I had the opportunity to witness some years since, when I crossed it in progress from Dággar dí Got to Sún-míáni. The river banks were some twenty feet in height, and the bed included between them about two hundred feet in breadth.

Immediately beyond the river the surface, rocky and sprinkled with túr-bushes, ascends gradually to a range of hills. Some of them are of considerable elevation, but they are not continuous; and the road leads through an opening, without much variation in level. At the foot of the superior hills, on the right hand, large fragments of rock lie by the path. The front of one of these is daubed with white paint, on which is marked, in red and black colours, many symbolic characters, pointing out the frontier boundary between Sind and Las.



These are curious, being those found on many of the Indó-Scythic coins so numerous discovered in Afghânistân and the Panjâb, and which are generally supposed to be Buddhist emblems. The first in order from the left is, undoubtedly, the *Svastica*, or sanctified cross; the remainder may be literal combinations of mystical or secular import.

The basis of the hills is shelly limestone ; fragments of amygdoloid and pudding-stone strew their skirts. Fossilized shells, chiefly ammonites, are so common that the smallest pebble shows traces of them ; and this remark applies to the entire tract of country between Karáchí and Súnmiání.

From the boundary rocks we traversed an arid, cheerless plain, until we reached a pool of brackish water, where we halted. Considering that we had marched nearly the whole night, and that the day was well advanced, we could scarcely have travelled less than twenty or twenty-two miles to this spot, named Bhowání.

The heat was most intense, and the trivial shade of a diminutive bér-tree, near the margin of the muddy pool, was the only protection at command. The camels, whether weary, or oppressed by the sultry weather, sluggishly browsed on the scant bushes fringing the water. During the day flocks of sheep and of goats would occasionally appear, as did a numerous herd of humped horned cattle, in condition so excellent, that it was plain, however unpromising the aspect of the country, that good and abundant pasture was to be found in the neighbourhood. These animals belonged to the Shékhs, one of the Lassí tribes, dwelling west of the Hab river.

A little beyond us was a kâfila from Súnmiání, carrying ghee to Karáchí ;—at the spot they had chosen to halt at were a few wells, the water less palatable than that of our turbid pool. The day I

passed here was a long and listless one. We started from Bhowání before sunset, a broken and sterile tract lying before us. The night had far advanced, when the sound of waves breaking on the shore proclaimed in hoarse murmurs our vicinity to the sea. Some time after, the road winding round a frightful precipice, led into a dark and narrow defile between high walls of rock for about one hundred and fifty yards, emerging from which we stood upon the sea-shore. We halted a few minutes to admire the luminous and phosphorescent billows as they magnificently rolled upon the coast, and then pursued our journey until, by the break of day, we reached Karírah, a spot uninhabited, but used as a station or place of rest. Here was a well of bad water, and, we were told, a village of huts over the hills on our right. Coarse grass was plentiful, with camel forage.

I could find no more efficient shelter than that afforded by a túr-bush, shifting my ground as the circuit of the sun changed the varying shadow it projected. The crows and mainas were so voracious, that they perched on the humps of the camels, and actually pecked holes in them; the mainas treated my horse in the same manner, and the poor animal was so incommoded by them, and swarms of flies and gnats, that he broke loose, and was secured only after a long chase on the shore, where the novelty of the waves seemed to confound him, and he stood still allowing himself to be caught.



In the evening we were glad to leave this vexatious spot; and, following the shore, we reached at night Bâgh Amb, (the mango garden,) where we found a solitary mango-tree and a pool of water;—there were also a few wells and huts near.

In the morning we started for Súnmiání, over a hard and level plain, passing midway some Lúmrí huts. The peasantry, males and females, carrying jars of milk and curds, announced our vicinity to the little seaport. I had considerably preceded my companions, and overtook some men driving camels towards the town. One of them asked if I was not Masson, and informed me that he was one of Kâlikdád's men, and putting himself in front of my horse, led the way to his master's quarters.

Kâlikdád, aware of my approach, had gone to tell Réhim Khân, and to procure a house for me. He returned with Díwân Tírat, the Jám's Hindú agent, and after a profusion of welcomes, the temple of Rájá Gopind Chand (the Mússúlmân's Pír Pattar) was thought best fitted to receive me, and I was conducted to it. The díwân left me, and shortly returned with a sheep, baskets of rice, flour and sugar, a vessel of ghee, wood, and other necessities. Poles were brought to erect tents, but I protested against so much trouble being taken.

The Hindú temple comprised but one small room, and when Kâlikdád had brought half a dozen fowls, and others of my old acquaintance had testified their pleasure at seeing me again, by

offerings of various supplies, the place had much the appearance of a well-stocked dokân, or shop. I had learned at Karáchí that my former Hindú friend, Tâh Mal, had died in reduced circumstances, and his son Pápá not presenting himself amongst my visitors, I inquired for him. He soon appeared, remarking, when told a Feringhí wished to see him, that he knew it could be no other than Masson. In the evening, a formal deputation of four persons waited on me, by order of the jám, to convey his welcome, and wish to see me at the darbár in the morning.

In due time I was sent for, and went to the jám's residence, where the darbár was held. The young chief, fifteen or sixteen years of age, was so small for his years, that had I not seen him in 1831, when yet an infant and carried in arms, I could scarcely have credited his being so old. I was told that his career had been sickly. He expressed himself glad to see me, and alluded to some bhúts, or pictures, I had given to him on my former visit. He was attired in a plain muslin shirt and red silk trowsers, with an ordinary Sindian cap on his head, while a silk kés, or shawl, supported his knees, being carried around them and his waist. On his fingers were four or five emerald and turquoise rings, and a sword was lying before him. His features were regular, without being prominent, and his countenance fair and pleasing, but rather feminine. On his right hand

sat Réhim Khân, and next to him the vakíl Alla Rikka, much advanced in age. On his left hand were Ibráhím Rúnjah, a relative of the jám, the Dárogah Sáhow, and others. The sides of the apartment were lined with persons of all descriptions, some seated, and some, less privileged, standing. Nothing could be more homely than the darbár of Las. The greeting of the young jám, was succeeded by the same token of civility from all those near him, each individual standing while he repeated it.

I was pleased to observe that the appearance and manner of Réhim Khân were prepossessing in his favour, and a pause occurring after the salutations were exchanged, I put his feelings to the test, by raising my hands to repeat fátíha on account of his father's death. Had he not joined in the ceremony, he would have been deficient in courtesy, and there would have been no doubt of his exasperated state of mind,—if he joined, his resentment, if any, became disarmed, or he was no longer at liberty to gratify it. He instantly uplifted his hands; the company present did the same, and fátíha was repeated by all. When concluded, I remarked that his father had honourably lived and died; that his death was the will of God, and I trusted all prosperity would attend himself. He observed, that his father had fallen, as became a brave man, by the side of his agâ (master). I rejoined, that his death was an enviable one, and

that his fame had spread throughout the world. Réhim Khân was evidently proud of the attention thus publicly paid to him, and no longer maintained reserve in conversation. During the *fâtíha* tears trickled down the furrowed cheeks of old Alla Rikka; and the remembrance of the worthy Walí Máhomed sensibly affected many of the group.

I may notice, that the *fâtíha* is no more than a repetition of the opening verse of the Korân, and terminates by passing the hands, already raised, down the beards of the parties engaged in it. On the death of a Máhomedan, his relatives receive this mark of respect from their friends, to neglect which would be an affront.

The Vakíl Alla Rikka, being the *jám's* minister, put a variety of questions as to the politics of the day; on the war with Chín, and on Máhomed Alí Páshâ's rebellion against the Súltân. Réhim Khân spoke of *Karáchí* and the *amírs* of Sind; observing, in a laughing mood, that they had done much *kidmat* (service), and had shown much *salúk* (good-will). I smiled at such remarks; but when he said that the late *khân* of *Kalât* had, ridiculously enough, lost his life and country, I answered: "It was true, he had allowed himself to be completely deceived." The climates of various countries were discussed; on which topic Alla Rikka, who had probably never been out of Las, was most conversant, when my friend *Kálikdád* asked

whether we should retire. An affirmative reply being given, I rose, when the jám being about to stand also, I prayed him to continue seated. Réhim Khân and the others stood; and saluting them *en masse*, I left the apartment.

Throughout this interview a loquacious parrot, or maina, amused the company by his chattering, otherwise the greatest order prevailed, and had possibly been enjoined. Occasionally a wild Lúmri appeared, who kissed the hand of his young lord. It was usual for the jám's mother to sit in darbár; and the lady, accounted clever, with Réhim Khân, her son-in-law, are supposed, in great measure, to rule the country.

Some two or three days elapsed, and I saw no more of the son of Walí Máhoméd; but Kâlikdád, who was a good deal with me, informed me of some complaints made by the Las authorities, as to the conduct of the Sindian governor of Karáchí, who, it was asserted, made unjust and vexatious demands, threatening them with the vengeance of the gentlemen there, in case of their non-compliance. They had also a serious cause of complaint, on account of Sháh Nəwáz Khân, the chief set up at Kalât, who had written letters, peremptorily forbidding the levy of more than half the previously fixed duties, on merchandise entering the port. Anxiety to avoid giving offence had induced obedience to the mandate; although the

revenue of the state, of which the Súnmiání customs formed the principal item, was grievously diminished, and inconvenience resulted.

I found that Kâlikdád, contrary to the tenour of his letters, had yet to await the arrival of a vessel from Bombay. It might be expected in ten or fifteen days; but I knew as many more would be employed in the package of goods, the hiring of camels, and other preparations for the journey. I regretted, for the moment, my hasty departure from Karáchí; but it chanced there was a pírzáda of Kalât about to proceed immediately, and Kâlikdád proposed that I should accompany him; to which, as the holy man had no objection, I consented.

I had received an intimation from my friend that Réhim Khân wished to see me privately; but returning for answer that, while I had no objection to see him, or any one else, privately, it must be understood that I had no official character, and could only sit and converse with him as any other friendly disposed person would do; I suspect it was considered that I declined the meeting, and I heard no more on the subject. From Díwân Tírat and others, who called upon me, I heard sometimes the wish expressed that the young jám, with them an object of affectionate interest, should be a níhâl, or plant of the Sâhibân's growth and culture.

On the eve of departure from Súnmiání I pur-

posed to write two or three letters to my friends at Karáchí, amongst them one to Captain Wallace, in return for the civility he had shown to me. I told Kâlikdád that he might mention to Réhim Khân that I was about to do so; and that, if he pleased, I would point out the practices of the Karáchí governor, and I had little doubt that, trifling as they were, a stop would be put to them, as the Feringhís were not likely to allow their good name to be profaned.

Kâlikdád apprised Réhim Khân, who expressed so much satisfaction that the merchant told me he could have been scarcely less delighted had his father been restored to life. He sent a message that he would be thankful if I called upon him in the evening.

It had not escaped me, that a dread seemed to infect the minds of the Las authorities, that the gentlemen at Karáchí intended either to take their country or to transfer it to the chiefs of Sind. I knew such alarms were groundless; indeed, before leaving Karáchí I had taken the necessary trouble of making myself acquainted whether any communication subsisted with the government of Las. I found there was none; but that letters had once been received, expressing the desire of the jám to pay his respects to the general, and that he had been referred to the political agent at Quetta. I also learned, that on the first landing of the British force in Sind the jám's advisers had sent

letters to Colonel Pottinger, offering assistance ; a war with Sind, with English allies, being extremely to their taste ; moreover, I became informed of the intended location of Lieutenant Gordon (then at Bombay) as agent at Súnmiání, and that he was to be accompanied by two companies of native infantry.

When I stepped over to Réhim Khân, he dismissed his attendants, and we discoursed for some time. He was very straightforward, and spoke Persian fluently. I was surprised to find that, so far from having any objection to visit Karáchí, he was now, understanding there was no unkindly feeling towards him, anxious to go there but for fear of offending Captain Bean at Quetta, and Shâh Nawâz Khân at Kalât. He expressed a warm desire of being connected with the Sáhibs rather than with Shâh Nawâz Khân, who, he observed, was not a good hákam, or ruler. As, in the same breath, he alluded to the elevation of certain persons to offices about the new chief of Kalât, I suspected his dislike to him was principally owing to his not being called upon to take a part in affairs. He regretted that he was unacquainted with the mode of transacting business with Feringhís, and I assured him that it was not so difficult a matter as he seemed to apprehend ; that little more was necessary than to mind his own business, and abstain from connexion with bad men : to be honest himself, and believe what the Feringhís told him.



He talked of sending a vakíl to Karáchí. I observed he could have no business that would not be better done by himself, and instanced the unhappy catastrophe at Kalât as entirely arising from the ill-fated khân's mistrust, and the treachery of his agents. Réhim Khân added, that he saw nothing would be so good for him as an interview with the Sáhibs at Karáchí, assuring me that had he known I had been so long residing there, he would, without hesitation, have come over. Adverting to the diminution of duties, I found the mandate from Kalât on that score was considered a stretch of prerogative, no preceding khân having interfered with the administration of the country in such a manner. Réhim Khân then noted that Mr. Elphinstone corresponded with the late jám, Míhr Alí, and sent him presents; and that now the jám was thinking of shipping camels and mares to the actual governor of Bombay. I asked whether it would not be as well to apply to the gentlemen at Karáchí, and to send the presents with their concurrence. He replied, they had not thought of that, but he felt it would be proper. Finally, he proposed that the jám and himself should write letters to Captain Wallace. I consented to forward them, as I could explain under what circumstances they were given, and because I was aware that the instruction to refer to Kalât had emanated from the military authorities at Karáchí at a time when no political agent was fixed there. Réhim Khân

further proposed to address Major Outram, who had succeeded Colonel Pottinger as Resident in Sind. I said there could be no harm done. I withdrew from this meeting well pleased with the good sense and honest, unaffected manners of Réhim Khân. I could not, of course, divine what might result from his letters, but, as I wrote to Captain Wallace, they would at least show that the son of Walí Máhoméd did not wish to be considered inimical.

Réhim Khân never so much as hinted at the establishment of a British agent at Súnmiání, although it was publicly known that such a measure was contemplated, and the knowledge of it, I should think, had suggested the intended propitiatory mission to Bombay. On parting, Réhim Khân said, that as I had visited him, he must in return visit me, and next morning Kâlikdád came to inquire if I was prepared to receive him. I replied, that I was always happy to see him, but that merely for the sake of etiquette, I did not wish to give him the trouble to walk over. Réhim Khân, however, insisted that it behoved him to return the compliment; and accordingly I was favoured with his company. We then discoursed as freely as if we had been friends of long standing.

The task of writing the letters for Karáchí devolved upon Díwân Tírat. He asked me what he should write. I replied, what he pleased. He then inquired if he should write at my house, and I

told him to put them together at his own house and bring them to me when finished. During the day he brought four letters, addressed to Captains Outram and Wallace, from the Jám and Réhim Khân respectively. The *metlaf*, or purport, of all of them being, that they wished to be enumerated amongst the slaves of the British government. I enclosed them in a letter I had prepared for Captain Wallace, and despatched them the same evening.

I never ventured to ask any one at Súnmiání if Réhim Khân had pursued Captain Outram, as represented by the horse-dealers, although I inferred he had not, because some person or other would probably have mentioned it. Subsequently, however, at Béla, and afterwards at Kalât, I became assured that not only had no such thing occurred, but that Réhim Khân did not go to Súnmiání until thirty-five days after Captain Outram's departure from that place, and then accompanying the jám in one of his ordinary excursions. Moreover, Réhim Khân was at Walípat, a little north of Béla, when Captain Outram passed, stood with others by the road side when he did pass, was aware of his father's death, knew Captain Outram to be an European, and took no further notice.

I was therefore very glad that I had forwarded his letters, as, if nothing better resulted from them, the unfavourable impression originated by the horse-dealers might perhaps be removed, and I rejoiced

to find that I could continue to think well of him without regarding him as the pursuer of an English officer.

I left at Súnmiání my servants and luggage, to follow with Kâlikdád and the kâfila, and the merchant made over to me for the journey a young lad, named Hassan, to attend to my horse. I put a few changes of linen in saddle-bags, which the pírzáda carried for me on his camels.

I joined the holy man without the town after sunset, and we started amid the benedictions of a crowd of merchants and townspeople. My companion had three camels, on one of which he rode himself; on another was a negress, with the elegant designation of Záfrâní, or the saffron-coloured lady, and the third was laden with gleanings from his disciples and flock. Two young lads of Kâbal were his attendants, and trudged on foot, as did Hassan.

We marched the whole night over the level plain, passing a tract of sand called Régh Tilláhi (golden sand), and by daybreak found ourselves at the skirt of the wooded belt, in which the village of Líári is situated. During this progress I had, of course, some conversation with my new companion, the pírzáda. I had not taken the trouble to see him at Súnmiání, taking it for granted that he was sufficiently respectable, and aware that he was the son of Zéya al Hâk, Nijrohí, of the Nakshbandí Sirindí sect, who resided at Kâbal, and by repute was known to me. His frivolous discourse on the road, however, gave me no

great idea of him, and, when daylight revealed his features, I doubted whether, if I had before seen them, I should have sought his company.

At Líárí, a house in the bazár was set apart for the pírzâda, and another in a retired part of the village was appropriated to me.

In the evening we took the road to Pátí, but although we had guides we strayed from our path, and, after wandering throughout the night, found ourselves in the morning but just beyond the belt of Líárí, and, averse to encounter the hot winds which now raged, we decided to repose for the day at a few huts, inhabited by the Gúnga tribe, which we descried not far off. We were civilly welcomed; and it was no sooner known that a pírzâda's party had arrived than the females hastened to offer their salutations. Amongst them was one particularly beautiful, and before my companion had time to explain that I was a Feringhí, and not entitled to so much respect, she had, supposing I must be a pírzâda, favoured me by placing her hands on my feet, and then kissing my hands. She was accompanied by her mother, also well looking, and with them the pírzâda soon arranged to take up his abode. A hut was erected expressly for me, and with such speed that in five minutes it was completed.

The pírzâda had much professional employment. The first applicant was a cripple, for whom he prescribed a large bowl of water, over which he breathed, and directed to be drank off at a draught.

The poor Gúnga complied, with the best faith, but with some difficulty, as the quantity was immoderate, and the pírzâda, who enjoyed his distress, insisted that every drop should be swallowed. A good repast was soon provided, and set before us, an equivalent, no doubt, for my friend's charms and antidotes, although he wished me to believe he paid for every thing.

During the day I paid him a visit, and found that our evening's repast was the subject of debate. The pious man had taken a fancy to a kid, and took pains, at least in my presence, while insisting he would not brook disappointment, to engage to pay for it. His fair hostesses had furnished the fowls in the morning, but the kid unfortunately belonged to other people, who, too needy to give their animal away, scrupled to receive money from a pírzâda. In this dilemma, the mother requested a távız, or charm, for her handsome daughter, who bashfully drooped her head, as the tale was told of her being married some five or six years without having any owlád, or family. One of the holy man's Kâbal lads immediately pricked up his ears, and leaning over to his master, said, "a camel, a camel as shúkarání," or offering. The mother entered into particulars, with the view of exciting commiseration, and remarked, that her daughter had but one husband; which caused the pírzâda to inquire how many she wanted. Perceiving the case to be one from which something might be gained, the good man dismissed me, or

what was the same thing, intimated his desire to repeat his prayers. I had not left him many minutes before I saw his two lads, with some Gúngas, carrying off the kid for slaughter, which it required no great judgment to surmise had been given as the price of becoming a mother by the fair but barren bride. The spot was named Obádí, and the water, wretched and unpalatable, was drawn from a well.

After sunset we moved towards Pátí, and next morning reached the uninhabited spot so called, on the bank of a branch from the Púrálí river. We passed the day here, but ill sheltered from the heat by the tamarisk-trees fringing the banks.

In our progress towards Béla, a little before sunset, we became enveloped in a khâkbâd, or whirlwind of dust. We had it for some time in sight, and moved into it, while by halting when we first observed it, we might have escaped it. The wind was very violent and the dust intolerable, although we were far from the vortex, and it speedily passed by. A few drops of heavy rain fell, and vivid flashes of lightning illumined the dense mass. By marching all night, we reached Osmán dí Got, a small village, in the morning, when, being but a small distance from Béla, we agreed to push on to it.

On reaching the old bed of the Púrálí, on the farther bank of which the town stands, the pír-zâda expressed fears on account of Mír Azem

Khân, the brother of the late Mehráb Khân of Kalât, who we knew was residing there, and he wished me to remain under the bank until he had gone into the town and ascertained all was right. I saw no necessity to be so cautious, and joking with him, that if he was afraid at Béla, how would it be amongst the hills, crossed over to a masjít immediately without the place, and sent Hassan with a message to Omar, the son of the late Arab vakíl, with whom I was acquainted.

Presently Omar came, attended by Ibráhím, a son of the Vakíl Alla Rikka, and they conducted me to a house belonging to the former. The jám's orders, that I should receive every attention had preceded my arrival. The pírzáda was accommodated separately. I had reckoned on the delay of a day or two at Béla, but I soon discovered that my companion was fearful my presence might embarrass him amongst the hill tribes. One evening he sent for me at a late hour, but having retired to rest, I did not wait on him. Neither did I in the morning when I heard he had some news from Kábal to tell, and which I could fancy was nonsensical enough. This induced him to send Múlla Háshem, a native of Kalât, with a man, in reality or pretending to be, a messenger from Náll. This fellow affirmed, that, before starting from Náll, Sháh Nawâz Khân arrived, and an entertainment was in course of preparation for him, when an express reached from Kalât with tidings which



made the khân remount and proceed towards his capital, without waiting for the intended repast. The tidings brought were, that Lieut. Loveday and Fatí Khân had been defeated at Núshkí by the Zigger Minghals, assisted by the Memasenís and Posht Kohís, and that, with the loss of one hundred men, they had fled to Kalât.

I readily understood this tale was a manœuvre, put in play to terrify the merchants into payment of the duties, which the letters of Shâh Nawâz Khân forbade to be enacted, and to compel them to engage badraggars, or safe-conductors; but as the pírzâda had also commissioned Múlla Háshem to tell me that he was going that night, and had no fears for himself but for me, and that he would be pleased if I released him from the obligation to accompany me to Kalât, I immediately replied, that he stood absolved, as I should be sorry that any one should think even that he was in danger on my account. I sent Hassan for my saddlebags, but the good man detained them, and returned a message that it would be better to wait a day or two until sounder intelligence arrived. Next morning he again sent, praying I would step over to him. I did so, and found Ibráhím, Alla Rikka's son, with him. Both urged the propriety of waiting a little; yet Ibráhím, while professing great desire to be useful, made use of some expressions, that, had I been so disposed, I might fairly have taken offence at. The pírzâda was ex-

ceedingly civil, and we parted on the understanding that we should wait a day or two. He was now indeed only a poor fáquí, and Ibráhím took care to inform me, that if any one put hands on me during the journey the pírzáda could only look on, and not interpose to prevent it. I had barely regained my dwelling, when Hassan came with a message from the pírzáda, that he should start in the evening. I declined to do so, and sent for my saddle-bags, which anew were detained, when I grew, in turn, serious, and despatched Hájí Khâdar, a Júkiá mírzá, or scribe, in the jám's employ, for them, and they were brought to me. A Kalât merchant afterwards came to express the pírzáda's sorrow that I had sent for the bags, how delighted he would have been had I accompanied him, and craving a reza nameh, or letter of approbation, which I said was unnecessary, as I was not angry. This point, however, was pressed, and Hájí Khâdar wrote something to satisfy him.

The pírzáda departed that evening, and it behoved me to think as to the course I should adopt; and I saw no better than to await Kâlikdád's arrival with the kâfila, although a residence at Béla was not desirable while the hot winds were prevalent. I might perhaps have passed on to Kalât by dint of money, but I had left nearly all behind with my other effects at Súnmiání.

Before I left Karáchí, Captain Wallace had mentioned, that he had received a letter written by

Hâjî Khâdar Dinna, respecting Adam Khân, or Mír Azem Khân, as officially called, the only brother of Mehrab Khân, now residing at Béla, and asked if I knew the hâjî; I replied, no. It turned out that he was the Hâjî Khâdar I have before had occasion to notice, a deaf Júkía mírzá, an old acquaintance of mine, but formerly known to me as plain Khâdar,\* and whom I did not recognize under his lengthened name and the title of hâjî, which three pilgrimages to Mecca had, however, fully entitled him to bear. He brought me the reply of Captain Wallace. It seemed Mír Azem doubted its authenticity. There was no question on that point, and I was given to understand Mír Azem was much pleased when informed that I pronounced it to be genuine. It recommended the mír to apply to Captain Bean, at Quetta, but if he objected, or had insurmountable scruples, to come to Karáchí, when representations should be made to government concerning him. I declined at this time to visit Mír Azem, being aware of the distress he was in, even for common necessities, and it was not in my power to supply them; still I urged Hâjî Khâdar to persuade him to act upon Captain Wallace's letter, and go to Karáchí, and put an end to his misery.

Trustworthy intelligence from Kalât had contradicted the report of disasters set on foot by in-

\* Vide vol. ii. p. 18, Journeys and Residence in Balochistân, Afghânistân, and the Panjâb.

terested persons ; and we learned that Lieut. Loveday had dispersed the Minghals of Núshkí, and that Shâh Nawâz Khân was at Bâghwâna, celebrating his nuptials with a sister of Kamâl Khân, one of the widows of the late Jám Alí of Béla. Fresh rumours, however, were circulated of the arrival of Shâh Sújâh al Múlkh at Shíkârpúr, a fugitive from Kâbal, and that Sind was in arms. It was determined to perplex the poor merchants. During the day the hot winds were constant, but although fully exposed to them, I suffered no inconvenience. I had, however, need of all my patience to support the delay circumstances had produced in my journey.

I was reluctantly lingering at Béla, when, one morning, a stranger came and asked me if I was Masson Sáhib ? and informed me that he had brought letters to me from Lieut. Loveday. I was surprised, but as the fellow had my name so ready at his tongue's-end, I requested to see his letters. A Minghal, who accompanied him, was sent for them. The stranger was very talkative, and soon let me know that he was Amír Khân, in the service of Lieut. Loveday ; that his funds were exhausted in his trip from Kalât, and that he expected me to renew them, — an unfortunate expectation, as I had no more money than I knew what to do with. He insisted that Lieut. Loveday had despatched him expressly to me, and had said to him in parting, “ Amír Khân, how delighted I shall be when Mas-

son Sáhib arrives!—tell him the climate here is lovely!” And farther, that when Mr. Loveday was walking in his garden at Mastúng, and picking flowers, he would exclaim, “Ah! Amír Khân, what avail flowers and their fragrance when Masson Sáhib is not present to enjoy them with me!” I thought this mighty strange; however, the Minghal returned with Amír Khân’s saddle-bags; the letters were produced; and, lo! they were addressed to “Lieut. Gordon, British Agent, Súnmiání”!

The authorities received Amír Khân and his party as guests. He soon after went to Súnmiání, while the Minghal who had escorted him from Wad proposed to do the same service for me to that place. He was a superior man, and admitted to be so by the good people at Béla, therefore I was glad of his offer, and prepared to start with him. He only demanded two rupees and a-half for the journey, and carried my saddle-bags on his camel,—a trained animal. I had constantly declined to see Mír Azem Khân, poor Mehrab Khân’s brother! Now, that I was about to leave, I was so importuned by many persons to visit him, that I was obliged to yield, especially as they urged he would be pleased; that he had expressed a wish to see me; and that he said he remembered me at Kalât. I therefore ordered my horse to be gently led along the road, while I walked over to the jám’s house, where he resided. I found him in the most miserable condition; and, after we had exchanged

salutations, he dismissed the five or six attendants still adhering to him, and asked me about his journey to Karáchí, and whether he would not run the risk of being detained a prisoner, or of being put to death. I assured him that, on the contrary, he would be kindly received, and strongly urged him to go, pointing out that delay, in his circumstances, would be fatal. He talked about the Sirkár Company Sáhib being generous, and I told him it was justly so reputed, and he might depend upon its liberality. He mentioned a plan that had occurred to him, of going to Khárân, and taking his nephew, the young son of Mehráb Khân, to Maskát, and craving the intercession of the Imâm, who was a great friend of the British government. I represented that the Imâm was a great friend, but his own presence at Karáchí would answer every purpose, and, I did not doubt, his reception would be such that his nephew would soon be glad to join him. He inquired whether, instead of going to Karáchí directly himself, he had not better first send a vakíl, and I replied, that the time for sending vakíls was passed; he admitted as much, and, encouraged by what I had told him, promised to go as soon as the jám returned to Béla. He remarked that he was very miserable. I said that was too evident, and entreated him, in God's name, to see what the government would do for him. He further observed, that he had seen me before at Kalât; but I explained to him that his memory deceived

him, as, when I was there, he came to Sohráb from Gandâva, and thence proceeded to Kej, so that I had not the opportunity of meeting him. I thought I had succeeded in removing from the mind of Mír Azem Khân the impressions that he would be necessarily made a victim because it was the misfortune of his brother Mehráb to be slain, and that he might be unfairly dealt with at Karáchí, and left him apparently cheered, and determined to visit Captain Wallace at no distant period.

I heard afterwards, that when Kâlikdád with his kâfila reached Béla the mír embraced him, saying he knew that he was indebted to him for my call. His intention was to have visited Karáchí, but he complained that he had not clothes fit to go in. Kâlikdád, who has a fast tongue, and is not very competent in state affairs, advised him to send a vakíl, which caused delay. The revolt at Kalât took place, and when his nephew recovered the capital, the mír, of course, joined him.

Mír Azem was at this time so much reduced, that he was in receipt of a daily allowance from the jám of two pounds of rice, eight pais (about threepence) worth of meat, with a little butter, &c.; his followers, eight or ten slaves, were also supplied with prepared cakes of júarí and rice-flour. He had not a change of linen, having been plundered by Isâ Khân of Wad, as he passed through that place in his flight from Kalât. His wife was with him, and he beguiled his leisure by

reading Persian poems to her, for although so dissipated as to be nearly useless for business, he is highly taught, and considered to be very accomplished. At Béla, one of the widows of the late Mehráb Khân, was also subsisting on the bounty of the jám.

Before leaving the little state of Las, let me briefly revert to the confusion and uncertainty which then deranged its whole economy. To describe it would exceed my ability, yet a little of its nature may perhaps be understood by the facts I have related.

The fears of the authorities were groundless; there was no desire to take possession of the country; none to transfer it to Sind, and none to interfere in its internal arrangements, so far as the English government was concerned. Still, there was no authorized person informed of the panic which prevailed, to explain it away, and the efforts of the jám and his counsellors to open a communication with the gentlemen at Karáchí had hitherto failed. Colonel, now Sir Henry Pottinger, I believe justly appreciated the friendly sentiments of the Las chief; and I afterwards heard from Lieut. Loveday that he proposed the intercourse between Las and the British government should pass through the resident in Sind, a proposition so manifestly reasonable, that it must have been opposed merely for the sake of opposition. The consequence was, that Las became entirely neglected,



and, by the politicals at Kalât and Quetta, was even reputed to be hostile, when it was eager, by the most abject submission, to confirm its existence.

I had always feared that the presence of troops at Súnmiání, being wholly needless, would have led to evil consequences; I was, therefore, rejoiced subsequently to learn that Lieut. Gordon, soon after his arrival, in conformity with his appointment, had sent them back;—a circumstance which impressed me with favourable notions of his judgment, and allowed me to hope that the young jám and his subjects might not lament his appointment. Since, a treaty, regulating the amount of duty to be levied at the port of Súnmiání, has been notified in the Bombay gazettes, which was in one sense unnecessary, as the amount fixed is merely what was heretofore levied without treaty; still, if it was thought fit so to legalize it, and harmony has thereby become established, there is no great harm in it,—and there may be good, as the right of the jám to conclude treaties has been acknowledged. I have now heard with satisfaction, that the agency has been abolished by the orders of the present Governor-General of India.

## CHAPTER II.

Walípat.—Entrance of the Hills.—Old Acquaintance.—Route to Mírân Kushteh.—Route to Barân Lak.—Túrkabúr — Kála Dara. — Review of route.— Day at Kála Dara. — Approach to Wad. — Reception at Wad. — Mír Ráhmat's arrival. — His amusements. — Afghân Hâjí. — Mír Ráhmat's frivolity. — Negro slaves.—Opinions at Wad.—Shír Máhoméd's return. —Departure from Wad. — Isâ Khân's garden. — Route to Bâghwân. — Meeting with Khâñ Máhoméd Khân. — Lead Mines of Kappar.—Gohar-basta.—Arrival at Bâghwân.—Civilities of Shâh Nawâz Khân.—Interview with him.—Mír Attâ Khân.—Route to Kalât.—Zohwar.—Lákoriân.—Gohar-basta.—Anjîrah.—Civil reception at Shorâb.—Route to Rodinjo. —Reception there.—Arrival at Kalât.—Welcome of friends. —Lieut. Loveday's remark.—reputation of Lieut. Loveday.—Interview with Lieut. Loveday.—Conversation.—Second interview. — Conversation with Múnshí Ghúlâm Hússén.—Selection of residence.—Objection to revisit Lieut. Loveday.

FROM Béla we passed through the jangal of pérú trees surrounding it on the north, and then skirting midway the hamlet of Khaira, reached Walípat by night, where we halted in a grove of palm-trees, where the jám's stud was picketed. There were some thirty mares and colts. The dárogah in charge supplied us with grain and chaff, prepared our food, and was anxious to show civility.

Before daybreak next morning we were crossing

the bare and pebbly plain stretching from Walípat to the hills, and before sunrise we came to the Púrálí river, which we traversed six times, and arrived at the opening of the defile Koharn Wât, where we halted for the day, leaving the river behind us, flowing from the north-east. Two travellers here joined us, coming from Kalât; one of them, Ghúlám, a Bábí merchant, instantly recognised me, and, after we had embraced, he sat down, refreshed himself, and gave the news of the day. He came, he said, on Lieut. Loveday's business, and told me, that I was expected at Kalât, for Lieut. Loveday had told my friends that I should soon be there.

In the evening we entered the defile, which did not appear so formidable as the impressions of memory had pictured; and although in its actual state it might be barely practicable to artillery, a good road could easily be made through it; the rock being schistose, and soft, while it readily separates. The length of the defile is, moreover, trifling. From it we emerged upon the wild and broken plain of Bohér, and struck across it towards the range of hills confining it on the north. This range we penetrated by the valley or stream-bed of Píng, a Bráhúi término, meaning long, and, with reference to the extent of the valley, correctly applied. By reason of the long and continued drought, I had been cautioned at Béla not to expect to find the hills as I had before seen them,

green with verdure, and their valleys garnished with copious and transparent rills of water; therefore I was not surprised to find Píng abandoned by its rivulet, and displaying few traces of the luxuriant vegetation which used to embellish it. A slight ascent, or pass, from the head of the valley brought us upon the table-land of Selloh, from which we descended into the bed of a water-course, called Mírân Kúshteh, from Mírân, a Bráhuí robber, at some period slain there. We had travelled the whole night, and, as we found water at this spot, we halted for the day. Near us were a few Bráhuí huts; and we were visited by shepherds, from whom we purchased a lamb.

In the evening we followed the course of the valley, and crossing the difficult ascent of Lohí, passed through a singular and extended defile, called Anrávérí. It was enclosed on either side by walls of rock, nearly perpendicular, to the right, of forty or fifty feet in height, to the left, of about twenty feet. Its breadth varied from ten to twenty feet, and the narrow passage was in some places much choked up with flags and tall grass. The whole of the hills naturally abound in strong and defensible positions, and this defile seemed capable of being made a most formidable one. The rude tribes of the country, however, if not altogether insensible to the facilities of defence it offers, are too ignorant to profit by them, and, in their own petty warfare, have never been known to do so. From Anrávérí

we toiled over the rocky pass of Karraroh, from whose summit we had an extensive but dreary view of mountain ranges in the distance, and of deep and dark glens around us, and finally halted at the foot of Barân Lak (the naked pass). In this march the roads were frequently troublesome; still, a little labour would suffice to put them in order.

We had again marched the whole night, and, leaving the road, had fixed ourselves on the bank of a large hill torrent, in whose rocky bed we met with water in a cavity. Many of the pebbles strewed about the surface were encrusted on the one face with chalk, both soft and indurated, and small pieces of the mineral, a rare one in these countries, were also scattered about. On the pass, in our front, I afterwards found specimens of zeolites in some abundance, but very inferior to the beautiful masses to be seen on the table hills of Mâlwa, in Central India. The fossilized remains of bivalves, ammonites, with what I supposed to be the jaw-bones and teeth of fishes, were common in every stone or fragment of stone, about us. In the evening we resumed our journey, and ascended the lak. I was surprised, and I may say almost disappointed, to find it was by no means so difficult as the reminiscences of two former transits had led me to anticipate. It was neither long nor very precipitous, and the road, while narrow, was even tolerable; but near the summit is a kand, or hewn passage through the rock, which would require to be widened before wheeled

carriages could pass. The rock is yielding, and favourable for the operation. From the pass we descended into a retired glen, to allow my guide's camel to browse on a few trees sprinkled over its sides, and again started at night. In our progress we crossed the dry bed of a considerable hill-torrent, which I well remembered as the spot near which I had passed the day in 1831, and where we had been overtaken by a heavy fall of rain; and thence by a small pass we came upon the plain of Túrkabúr, so called from a tradition that Amír Taímúr, or, as some say, Jenghiz Khân, encamped there. The name in the dialect of the Bráhuís, signifies a horseman. Thence we entered the fine level and spacious plain of Kâla Dara (the black valley), and having traversed the larger portion of it, we struck off the road for some Minghal huts, where we halted under cover of some perpúk trees. We had not intended to disturb the inmates, but the barking of their own dogs awaked them, and an old man rose to inquire who his visitors were. On being informed, he was satisfied and retired to his hut, promising to supply our wants in the morning.

On crossing the pass of Túrkabúr we had left the mountainous country behind us, and henceforth our road to Kalât became comparatively easy and safe. In the hills we had met very few people, and only at the halting-places. Shír Máhoméd, with whom I never interfered, invariably told them that I was a Feríngí, going to Kalât on my own business; and this

information, given with the most perfect indifference, was received in the same manner. The pass of Barân Lak is the limit to which, in severe winters, snow has been known to fall ; in most seasons, however, it seldom extends to Khozdâr, and Bâghwâna. I examined the road more carefully than I had formerly done, in consequence of an anxiety at Karáchí to be acquainted with its exact nature, with reference to the march of troops; the idea being cherished, that if at all practicable, it would be highly advantageous to open it, as the route through Sind and Kachí, besides being so much longer, was in some seasons of the year absolutely closed by the fearful character of the climate. From the remarks I have occasionally made, it may be gleaned that my opinions of the road were favourable to its mere practicability, which indeed had no right to be questioned, as large kâfilas are constantly in the habit of travelling by it; but these assemblages can pass where armies with their encumbrances perish; and in their case many things are to be thought of which kâfilas can afford to dispense with. From Béla to Wad no supplies of grain are procurable, and from Wad to Kalât very little could be depended upon. In the hills, both water and forage are precarious, or regulated by the supplies of rain. In the present journey my horse suffered from want of provender; so did my companion's camel; and the kâfila, which followed us, was disabled by the loss of two-thirds of its cattle, from the same cause.

At our first halting-place at Koharn Wât, at the entrance of the hills, we drew our water from the Púrálí river. At Mírân Kúshteh, and Barân Lak, our halting-places within the hills, there was little water, and they were the only two spots where it was found on the line of road. In my former journeys I had crossed numerous rivulets, and the river Ornách, a deep and powerful stream,—now they had ceased to flow, and I must have passed the dry bed of the river without being aware of it. At this time, therefore, I held the march of a large body of troops to be a dangerous measure; and at any other time it would be requisite to ascertain the state of the hills as to water and forage. From the tribes perhaps serious opposition need not be apprehended, but their petty thefts would have to be provided against. The drought, which has oppressed this country for the last ten years, would appear to have prevailed over a wide space, and I have observed that a similar calamity has befallen some of the Russian provinces, where a commission was appointed to examine into its effects, and probable causes. Subsequently, I believe, the route has been surveyed by British officers, but I have not learned the results.

In the morning, the old gentleman, who proved to be a dependant of Isâ Khân of Wad, was as good as his word, and speedily set before us a breakfast, and we purchased a sheep to return his civility, and because we proposed to rest our cattle that had fared badly since leaving Béla. In the neighbourhood



were several huts, and many of the inmates came and favoured us with their company. It was debated, whether or not it was lawful to kill me, in retaliation for the blood of those slain at Kalât; but it was generally conceded to be unlawful, as I was not present at the slaughter, and because I had appeared unarmed amongst them. Those who maintained the contrary seemed to do so for the mere sake of argument.

We passed not only the day, but the better portion of the following night here; and then continued our journey towards Wad. The morning broke before we had cleared the low hills, which separate the plain from the principal village of the Minghal tribe. On the road Shír Máhoméd observed to me, that Khân Máhoméd Khân, the elder son of Isâ Khân, being absent, as we learned at Kâla Dara, he did not exactly know whether, from the manners of the younger branches of his family, I might be altogether at ease there; and proposed, if I approved, that we should go on straight to his residence, some three or four miles distant, where, if the fare was humble, I should be, at least, civilly treated. I was obliged for the consideration which had prompted the suggestion, but resolved to take my chance at Wad. The sun had not risen when we descended upon the plain, with the little town before us; and the first objects presenting themselves to our sight were three new tombs, covered with white cement,

erected over the remains of Walí Máhomed, Táj Máhomed, and another of the Wad chiefs, who had fallen at the same time with their ill-fated lord, Mehrab Khân. They were buried on the open plain, beneath a mulberry-tree, and contiguous to each other. In death they had been united, and their countrymen now revered them as shédidân, or martyrs.

I may acknowledge that I approached the town with clouded feelings; I was conscious there was no cause for apprehension; still there was the awkwardness of a meeting with the relatives of the slain to be encountered; and, worse than all, I knew that the calamity, which had involved so many chiefs of the family in destruction, might, with due understanding, have been averted. On crossing the dry bed of the torrent, on which Wad stands, we came upon the houses inhabited by the chiefs now living; and the first person we met was a dárogah of Isâ Khân, who conducted us to the vacant house of Mír Ráhmat, a son of Táj Máhomed, above noted as one of the slain at Kalât. Mír Ráhmat was with Khân Máhomed, in attendance upon Shâh Nawâz Khân, the new ruler of Kalât in Zídí. The dárogah hastened to report our arrival to the family of Isâ Khân, leaving me to my reflections on the strange accident of being quartered in the house of a chief who had fallen by the hands of my countrymen.

Presently Malek Dínár, the younger son of Isâ

Khân, a youth of sixteen or seventeen years of age, brought a polite message of welcome from his mother; and he was followed by slaves, the bearers of a couch, with carpets and gold embroidered coverlets. Scarcely had these been arranged when an excellent repast was also brought in. Shír Máhoméd soon after departed for his home, engaging to return at sunset, on the day after the morrow, as he proposed to escort me to Bâghwâna, for a further sum of three rupees.

Malek Dínár, I soon found, was the mother's favourite; and, during the day, was generally with me. He appeared well conducted, therefore I was glad of his company; in the evening Mír Ráhmát was announced, and the noise attending his arrival proclaimed he was an important personage. He had returned from Zídí, where he had left Khân Máhoméd. He was about twenty-five years of age, and extremely thoughtless and vulgar in manners. He professed to be delighted with me, and his mode of showing it was most troublesome, for he allowed me no rest.

Next morning, in consequence of a family quarrel, Mír Hássan, his brother-in-law, left Wad with his wives, children, and dependants, intending to reside on the estates of Réhim Khân. When this was known, Malek Dínár mounted his camel, and pursued the fugitives, in the hope of inducing the females to return; Mír Ráhmát requested my horse to follow Mír Hássan, with the same object.

Considering the case to be urgent, I obliged him. It proved that the offended mír was not to be appeased ; and both returned unsuccessful.

Mír Ráhmat did not permit me to enjoy much repose this day ; and as he became familiar, so the levity of his manner became more conspicuous and annoying. His conversation was of the most frivolous description ; and, compelled to endure it, I consoled myself by the thought that I was enabled to acquire an insight into the state of society at Wad ; and truly the shifts and expedients he resorted to for the purpose of killing time were often amusing. Sometimes the minstrel, an invariable component part of a Bráhuí sirdár's household, clad in the rejected garments of his superiors, struck up a tune on the séhtár, a three-stringed lyre, and accompanied the melody with his voice ; and anon Mír Ráhmat, who, like Nero, piqued himself on his vocal talent, delighted us with his strains. Occasionally he stretched himself on his couch, while a female slave shampooed him ; and the language he addressed to her was neither refined nor very delicate. Games of chance were however, his great stand-by ; and these he played sprawling on the ground, with Malek Dínár or the tawdry, yet ragged minstrel.

The arrival of an Afghân hâjí, whom I had seen at Béla with my faint-hearted friend, the pírzâda, contributed towards the amusement of Mír Ráhmat. This man had left Kalât on the hâj,

or pilgrimage, to Mecca; and, as happens to many of his countrymen, his hâj terminated at Bombay. Being destitute, he there established his quarters at the government hospital, of course pretending to be sick. Craving the assistance of the pîrzâda, to regain Kalât, he related this circumstance, and enlarged upon the liberal fare and great attention he received in the hospital; the pîrzâda asked him, why he had not stayed there. Hâjî said, he would have stayed, but the hâkîm sâhib (doctor) turned him out. The pîrzâda consented to feed him on the road to Kalât; Hâjî, in return, was to make himself useful. Now Hâjî arrived very sore with the pîrzâda, accusing him of brutality, in not allowing him to ride, and for forsaking him in the hills, and he vowed to expose him when he reached Kalât. Hâjî desired Mîr Râhmat not to estimate him by the homely garb he then wore, as, when at home, at Kândahâr, he was a great man. Addressing me, he requested the loan of a rupee, to be repaid at Kalât; to which, at the moment, I made no reply. Hâjî was still sitting, twirling with his fingers the large black wooden beads of his rosary, when Mîr Râhmat was undergoing the process of shampooing; and the indecent remarks he made to the sable artiste so powerfully moved the wonder of the Afghân that he could not contain himself, and said: "Khânzâda, have you a wife?" The question, if abruptly, was well put; and Mîr Râhmat stared at him, a little con-

founded; but soon recovering himself, he answered, "Yes, Hâjí Gúl." And then, with happy impudence, said, "Hâjí Gúl, you shall stay with me and teach me to say prayers." Hâjí replied, that he should be happy to teach him prayers, but—and he shook his head—he feared the Khânzâda was not likely to prove an apt scholar. My snuff-box was empty, and the bazár of Wad was inadequate to replenish it. Hâjí thought it a pity I should need what he was able to supply, and taking the box, emptied into it the contents of his own leathern bag. I could not forbear telling him that he had made me ashamed of myself; as he had asked me for money, and I had not given it, while he had given me snuff without my asking for it. I therefore prayed him to accept a rupee, to buy more for himself.

I left Hâjí at Wad, to await a kâfila, and to divert the society there, which he appears to have done, if his own accounts may be credited. Some days after I had been at Kalât, Hâjí came to see me, in his best apparel, and covered with an old chintz fargal. Inquiring how he got on after I left, with Mír Ráhmát, and the host of slave-girls, black and white, he exclaimed, "Rámah! rámah! a flock! a flock!" but the best of it was, he said, that Isâ Khân's daughter fell in love with him, that she came to the masjít to him, and was so affectionate that he said to her, "Bíbí Sâhib (my lady), I am a woman."—"No," she re-

joined, "Hâjî, I know you are a man, and a good man." He protested, as he hoped to be saved, he was but a woman. Then, he continued, Malek Dínár had a fever, and one moment his mother and female relatives were by his side, weeping and tearing their hair, and the next, the musicians were playing and singing, and such a scene of mingled grief and merriment occurred, as the Hâjî had never before witnessed. At length a kâfila came, and Mír Ráhmât so worried the merchants, on the pretence of making purchases, that many of them were glad to resign their goods to escape his annoyance. Hâjî abundantly amused me by the relation of his adventures, and the sights he had seen at Wad, and he took his leave, overjoyed that he had afforded me subject of mirth.

I had not, however, got through the first day with Mír Ráhmât, the second of my sojourn at Wad; and in the afternoon, two Jogís (Máhomédans) were sent for to exhibit their serpents.

In the evening, Mír Ráhmât insisted, that as, on the preceding night, I had been the guest of Malek Dínár and his mother, so it behoved him to provide my entertainment for the one near at hand, and this allowed him to vociferate a variety of orders. His commands for a sheep, rice súrkhdâssí, corianders, carraways, onions, roghan, and every single ingredient, were so loudly and incessantly repeated, that I thought he would never have ceased. After our meal, we had a regular

concert, and, after much of the night had passed, with difficulty I induced him and his friends to retire.

By daybreak next morning Mír Ráhmát was in attendance with his lyre, and, after a few of his tunes and plaintive airs, he led me into a contiguous house full of his negro slaves. His object was to show me how rich he was in this species of wealth. I should think, at least, some twenty or twenty-five individuals, chiefly women and children, were here living promiscuously together. He did not know how many slaves he had, as he said he never counted them, but computed their number broadly at fifty, sixty, or seventy.

The slaves of the Bráhuís are of two classes, negroes brought from Maskát, and the issue of captives made in war, with the people of the western provinces of the country, as Kej, Túrbat, &c.; some have, at various times, been brought from Cashmir and the eastern provinces of Persia. These, in colour and features, in no respect vary from their masters, and some of the females are remarkably handsome. They are better treated than their negro associates in bondage, and less onerous duties are assigned to them. Few of the negroes, and those only who are really useful, are even decently clad, and it is common for them so to multiply, that their masters, from inability to clothe and feed them, dismiss them to provide for themselves in other lands.



Mír Ráhmát was so well pleased with my horse on the preceding day, that he again asked me, this morning, to allow him to gallop the animal to some cultivated lands, distant some three or four miles. As I expected to leave Wad in the evening, I demurred, which he did not take in good part, and became a little sulky, which so far benefited me, that, instead of plaguing me throughout the day, he amused himself in his own apartment with Malek Dínár, his minstrel, and slaves. Malek's mother sent a message that I must not be offended, and that she was sure Malek would not have asked for the horse.

The absence of Mír Ráhmát permitted the presence of more reasonable visitors, and they discoursed in the most frank manner on all subjects, public and private. The misfortunes of Kalât were spoken of without any expression of ill-will, and even Mír Ráhmát never alluded to his father's fate but in a careless tone. I soon found that great enmity existed between Réhim Khân, and Khân Máhoméd Khân, but perceiving a dislike to relate the reason, I did not press the question, presuming it might be of a delicate nature. Mír Ráhmát, indeed, when I asked if Réhim Khân was likely to return to Wad, replied, How could he return, when he had estranged himself from his relatives and úlús? alluding, I supposed, to his alliance with the Jadghâls, or Lúmrís, of Las. Whatever were the sentiments of Mír Ráhmát

and the family of Isâ Khân, those of their retainers, of the people of Wad, and of the tribe in general, were altogether favourable to Réhim Khân, who, it was asserted, was the only respectable chief amongst them. Some of Réhim Khân's family were residing here, and one of his infant children was frequently brought to me, as was Bâdín, a young child of Khân Máhomed. The cultivated lands belonging to Wad were owned principally, perhaps exclusively, by the chiefs. Réhim Khân had as much as yielded him five hundred gúnís, or fifty thousand Wad maunds of grain (wheat, barley, and rice); while Isâ Khân, Mír Ráhmát, and others of the family, held what yielded them as much more; the lands of the latter being chiefly irrigated, while those of Réhim Khân were principally khúshk-âwâh, or dependent on rain.

The minstrel of the chiefs informed me, that he had composed a jang námeh in honour of the martyrs of Kalât, but that he had not yet recited it, reserving it for the period when Réhim Khân returned, and all the family were assembled.

During the day several of those who had accompanied Khân Máhomed made their appearance. They had left their master still in Zidí, and narrated the results of the excursion of Shâh Nawâz Khân, and the submission of Mír Attá Khân, the Sâh Sâholí chief. It seemed that the chief of Kalât had exposed himself to danger, by having, at a conference, made use of strong language while

he grasped the hilt of his sword. The Sâh Sâholís retired and lighted their matches, and evil might have ensued, but for the intervention of saiyads, as the khân's followers were few, and his opponents were many.

I could but observe that all spoke lightly of the new khân, and had no better opinion of his rank than to designate it as *maskerí*, or a farce.

I had all faith in the promise of Shír Máhomed, and close upon sunset I saw him walk steadily into the court-yard, leading his camel. We were ready, and Hassan began to saddle my horse, when a message came from Malek Dínár's mother, beseeching me to wait until the evening's repast was prepared, or, if determined to proceed at once, first to partake of what could immediately be set before me. We soon despatched a hasty meal, and desiring our best thanks to the hospitable lady, we took leave of her son, and his graceless cousin, who, as poor Mehráb Khân used to observe, should have been named Mír Záhmat (Mír Troublesome), instead of Mír Ráhmát (Mír Merciful).

We crossed the plain to the sirdárs' garden, some five or six miles distant, where we halted for the night. It was dark, but we found many huts, occupied by slaves, employed in agricultural labour, and now watching the karmâns, or heaps of corn. They supplied us with chaff, and we retired to rest.

In the morning, a youth presented me with a

dish of apricots, and said he was a younger brother to Mír Ráhmát. We remained until afternoon here, and then crossed the nullah beyond the garden, when Shír Máhoméd proposed to take the nearest and direct road to Bâghwâna, by Kappar, which avoids Khozdár. As I had twice before seen the last place, I consented without difficulty. In our progress we passed a spot called Langléjí, where, I learned, are many vestiges of the olden times, and that medals are sometimes, but rarely found. Similar indications, I was assured, are abundant in Ornách, and in the hills near Wad are numerous ghorbands, or ancient mounds, and ramparts. We travelled the greater part of the night, and halted at the commencement of some low hills, in a place without water.

Towards morn we continued our journey through the maze of hills, with a tolerable road, and halted awhile to prepare our food at a locality, Chúrání (the place of robbers), where the bed of a water-course had a scanty rill in it. We were joined by two or three small parties of Bráhuís, going to or coming from Bâghwâna; and, before we had left, Khân Máhoméd Khân, with a couple of horsemen, arrived. He embraced me, on learning I was a Feringhí, inquired much after his young son, Bâdín, and hoped that I had received all civility from Malek Dínár. Drawing me aside, he desired me to tell Lieut. Loveday that the road from Kalât to Súnmiání would never be safe to merchants, unless

Réhim Khân were decoyed to Karáchí and made prisoner, for he was the cause of all the mischief. He shrewdly instructed me to say little on his part, but a good deal on my own, adding, that I should naturally be asked, having travelled by the road. If Réhim Khân were not secured, he said, he should be obliged to abandon Wad, for he should acquire an evil repute; and, as he acknowledged the Feringhí rule, he must reside at Kalât. I secretly admired the dexterity of Khân Máhomed, but promised to report what he had told me, as I did when I saw Lieut. Loveday at Kalât, taking care, however, to put the matter in its true light. In the afternoon we started from Chúrání, and a slight *détour* brought us upon a wide and level plain, called Wír. It was chequered with cultivated patches, and there were a few mud apartments, to house chaff. Beyond Wír, a short transit through other low hills conducted us to the commencement of the plain of Perozabád, with a rivulet flowing from Kappar. Here we halted for the night, with the village of Perozabád about two miles in advance.

In the morning we passed the lead mines of Kappar on our left, seated in a hill, that seemed entirely composed of the metal. About two hundred workmen are constantly employed, and they are a peculiar race, not Bráhuís, or esteemed people of the country. Lead is a most abundant metal in the hills of central Balochistân, but is said to be extracted only on a regular system at these mines. They are

near to Bâghwâna, before reaching which, however, we passed another small plain, crossed by a remarkably substantial rampart, or ghor-basta, one of the most perfect I had seen, and which could hardly be supposed to have been constructed for any other purpose than that of a defensive nature. On arrival at the cluster of villages on the plain of Bâghwâna we halted, under some trees near the old village of Kamâl Khân, and were soon apprised that Shâh Nawâz Khân was near us. He had lately celebrated his nuptials with the sister of Kamâl Khân, a widow of the late jám of Las, and, in two or three days, intended to escort his new bride to Kalât. He had also received a visit from Lieut. Loveday, who brought him a treaty, ratified by the Government of India, and congratulations on his marriage. A little after our arrival, Mír Attá Khân, the Sâh Sâholí chief, came with twenty-five or thirty horsemen, and took up his quarters at an adjacent zíarat, or shrine. He had, in return for his submission to the authority of Shâh Nawâz Khân, just received a khelat, or honorary dress, arrayed in which, he passed in procession before the khân's tent, two young saiyads, on very good horses, at a slight distance, leading the van. Má-homed Khân, Raisání, the khân's náib, or deputy, at Bâghwâna, accompanied the Sâh Sâholí cavalcade, and being told that I was a Feringhí, inquired if the khân knew of my presence, and immediately went to announce it. He speedily re-

turned with the khân's Hindú díwân, and it was asked what could be done to oblige me. The khân was desirous to send a tent, with sheep and other things, as the khân was himself my servant, and his country was mine. I explained that I was but a traveller, and not even in the employ of government, therefore there was no occasion for the khân to put himself to trouble or expense on my account; that I was grateful for his good intentions, but that, if he fulfilled them, I should be uneasy, as I was unworthy of them. They went away, but soon returned, imploring me to accept sheep, &c.; but I prayed to be excused, as I had not even vessels to cook them in. Máhomed Khân now recognised me as the companion of Gúl Máhomed Kambarári, in my trip to Chehel Tan in 1831, and as a former resident at his tomân at Khânak.\* His countenance instantly brightened, for the slightest acquaintance amongst all rude people is acknowledged; and, truly, his memory was better than mine, for I did not remember him; yet he dropped all restraint and formality, and ran off to tell the khân the new Feringhí was an old friend.

In the course of the day a rather sumptuous repast was sent by the khân, and in the evening a message came expressive of his wish to see me, brought by his shâhghâssí, who alike claimed previous acquaintance, as did most other persons who now

\* Vide Narrative of Journeys and Residence in Balochistân, Afghânistân, and the Panjâb, &c. vol. ii. p. 71.

## INTERVIEW WITH THE KHAN.

came to see me. I went to the tent of Shâh Nawâz Khân; on entering it he rose and embraced me, and then seated me by his side. We discoursed some time, and I repeated what I had before told his people, that I was not in government employ, and therefore entitled to no attention on that account. He asked if troops had been sent to Sún-miání? I told him "No:" and, in answer to another question, whether they had not been "mokarrar," or appointed, replied, that I had heard as much. Relating my detention at Béla, and the false rumours then prevalent there, he smiled, and was most profuse in his declarations of gratitude and attachment to the British government. In justice to Shâh Nawâz Khân, I may here observe, that, whether in public or private, he invariably expressed the same sentiments, and in terms so abject that the Bráhuís were ashamed of him.

In conversation and manners the khân was without the least formality or reserve, having, perhaps, acquired the ease and freedom of the Dúránís during his stay of three years at Kândahár. I should not have judged his affability amiss, but it is taken very ill by his subjects generally, and particularly so by the Bráhuís, who expect their khân to be grave and dignified in converse and deportment.

Besides the khân, Mír Kamâl Khân, of Bâgh-wâna, whom I saw for the first time, was the only person of note present. He was sitting entirely *sans façon*, with no upper garment except his shirt,



and without a turban on his head. Shortly Mír Attá Khân was announced, and the very small tent became crowded with his followers. The two young saiyads who had been instrumental in promoting an understanding between the khân and the Sâh Sâholís were placed on the khân's right hand, and, beyond them, sat Mír Attá Khân, and his attendants in succession. Much conversation passed with the Bráhuís in Kúr Gâlí, and I noticed, that although on one occasion some good thing said by Shâh Nawâz forced a laugh from most of them, at other times his propensity to jeer and jest was by no means approved of; and I fancied that Kamâl Khân's features denoted regret that his khân and brother-in-law should talk so much, and to so little purpose. With the two young saiyads, and an older one, named Fázil Shâh, their opponent, the khân had to sustain a desperate controversy. The youths claimed some lands and certain rights, which Fázil Shâh, once a dependent of their family, had, as they contended, unfairly usurped. It was easy to perceive that the khân and Kamâl Khân favoured Fázil Shâh, but the young saiyads were very tenacious of their rights, and talked much and earnestly: indeed, between them and the khân there seemed to be a struggle who should speak most. Fázil Shâh occasionally put in a few words, but Kamâl Khân, by whose side he sat, checked him, and pulled his shirt-sleeve whenever he evinced the inclination to display his volubility. The sum of

the khân's argument, in opposition to the impotency of the young saiyads that an immediate judgment should be pronounced upon the merits of their case, was, that he could not venture to interfere between saiyads, as all the disputants were, and that the matter must be debated in form before a competent tribunal; — in other words, that delay was necessary. I was very pleased when the saiyads and Mír Attá Khân departed, as I was also enabled to take my leave of the khân, who told me that a party of horsemen should escort me to Kalât, which I submitted was wholly unnecessary.

The conversation between the khân and the saiyads was sustained in Síndí, the young men, although the spiritual guides of the Sâh Sâholí, a Bráhuí tribe, being of Sindian extraction, and ignorant of the Bráhuí dialect; and this fact brought me to the knowledge that the Bráhuís, unlike all other Máhomedan people, have no saiyads, pírs, múllas, or fáquirs, or any persons pretending to inspiration or sanctity amongst them, and are compelled, while holding the craft in due reverence, to seek them amongst strangers. I asked the khân's servants which party was right in the lengthened debate which had just passed, and was told, as I expected, that the young saiyads were.

This evening the bard of Mír Attá Khân kept us long awake, singing to his chief the jang námeh of the devoted Mehráb Khân. Wonderful were the exploits attributed to him; and the Feringhí

army was described as the “*lashkar khodâhí*,” or the army of God, and as innumerable, or lakhs upon lakhs. The ditty concluded with the remark, that “All the Ahmed Zais had died worthily, but that Mehráb in death had surpassed all others: *wa tilla shúd*, and had become gold.”

I was surprised to find that the personal attendants of Shâh Nawâz Khân considered his dignity in no better light than did his adherents at Wad, or that it was other than “*maskerí*,” or a farce. He must have felt himself placed in a ridiculous position. He had not more than twenty-five or thirty attendants and armed men, a retinue inferior to that of the robber chief Mír Attá Khân, who found it convenient at this time to make his submission. The remark was constantly made here as elsewhere, that, to tell the truth, the country was the sâhibs’, and Shâh Nawâz merely their nâib, or deputy. To remove this impression, which the state of things justified, was impossible, and so awkward had been the arrangements relating to the unfortunate country of Balochistân, that while understood by no one, they were such as made it impossible for the khân to establish a government.

Early the next morning, soon after breakfast, Shâh Nawâz sent me a large dish of fine apricots. His cuisine seemed at least well managed; and I learned that he had cooks from Kândahár. Shír Máhomed, my Minghal guide, had engaged

to go no farther than Bâghwâna, I therefore hired another man and camel to carry my effects to Kalât for a sum of three rupees.

I had arranged to start for Kalât in the afternoon, and Shâh Nawâz, unremitting in civility, sent by his Hîndú dîwân a sheep and a basket of flour, explaining, that I should get no provisions on the road (an assertion more polite than true), and insisting upon acceptance. The escort of horse I had refused, but a single horseman, one Ghâzî Khân, was sent, to whom I did not object, aware that he was the bearer of the khân's own letters to Kalât.

From Bâghwâna we marched about ten or twelve miles over a fairly open country, and halted at a spot called Zohwar, where was a rivulet, but no habitations. We found there the pësh-khâna, or advanced tent, of Shâh Nawâz, but the attendants were either too sound asleep to be aroused, or declined to answer the calls of Ghâzî Khân. We stayed a few hours of the night here, amid the constant howling of wild animals in the surrounding hills; and before daybreak recommenced our journey. A slight *détour* led us into the spacious plain of Lâkoriân, at the northern extremity of which are some important ghorbands, or bastas. I had a better opportunity than before of examining these remains, and I could not but conclude that, with those near Bâghwâna, they were defensive works, or intrenched lines. They com-

pletely covered the entrance of the defile connecting the plain of Lákhoriân with that of Anjirah, and the minor passages by which the defile might have been penetrated were all carefully protected. The principal rampart ran parallel to a deep ravine and joined a small eminence. These vestiges are remarkable for their magnitude, as well as for their solidity, and the skill, I might say science, evident in their construction. The wonder is, to what people they may be ascribed; and this is a question to which the traditions of the country offer no reply. Passing through the defile, the plain of Anjirah opens with a descent, and we traversed it until we reached a rivulet, where there was no shade, but patches of verdure on elevated ground, from whence several small springs issued, and there we halted. Below us on the plain were two kâfilas, one of Kambarári Bráhuís, the other of sayyads of Peshing, Teríns, &c., on their way from Súnmiání. The sayyads wished me to accept a sheep; and on my declining it, as from the bounty of Shâh Nawâz, we were well supplied with meat, they brought some Bombay rice, and vessels to prepare it with. There was no dwelling on the plain, but much cultivated land, and heaps of chaff, the product of the recent crops, were scattered about. Near our position was also a rúd-khâna, its banks fringed with oleander bushes, which, since leaving Wad, had constantly occurred in similar localities. During the day numbers of Bráhuí

females from the hills came to the springs. The Peshing sai-yads commiserated the hardship of their lot, compelled to walk barefooted for three or four miles for water. Having seen the Peshing ladies in much the same predicament, I observed that such remarks came oddly from them whose wives underwent the like hardship. An excuse was offered that water in Peshing was not distant.

Towards evening we started for Sohráb, and arrived there at night, halting at one of the hamlets, called Shehár Bakhâl, from the Bakhâls, or Hindús, residing at it. The people were asleep; but Ghází Khân contrived to find chaff for our cattle, being all we needed. On awaking next morning, we were told that chaff, and all other necessities, had been collected for me, at a neighbouring hamlet, by the orders of Shâh Nawâz Khân, who, it proved, without apprising me, had despatched a messenger before me; a mark of attention for which I could not but feel indebted to him. Scarcely had I heard this when a shâhghâssí, the khân's officer here, came with his train to welcome me, and informed me a house was ready for my abode, and that he had sat up the whole night expecting me. We therefore removed to the quarters assigned us, and the shâhghâssí, in obedience to the orders he had received, was willing to have put himself very much out of the way; but I would not allow him, though I could not prevent the slaughter of a lamb. He prayed me not to go

to sleep, as he would bring a nárí, or breakfast, and immediately produced some fine cakes, with excellent butter, and a quantity of delicious apricots. In due time a more substantial repast was set before me; and in the afternoon we took leave of Sohráb, and the attentive shâhghâssí, whose last act was to give my people a basket of apricots, saying, I should not find them yet ripe at Kalât.

By night we reached an uninhabited spot, called Gandaghen, where we slept until near daybreak, and then continued our course to the village of Rodinjo; where we were rather coolly received by the Rais Râhmatúlah. I had reposed awhile, when I was awakened by Hassan, who told me some of the villagers had brought me an entertainment. I found that the family of Múlla Izzat had done the hospitable office, and that her two sons were the bearers of the rural fare. Rais Râhmatúlah and his people, without being rude, were yet reserved and formal; until one, Shaffí Máhoméd, recognized me as having been his companion in the journey I made, in 1831, from Kalât *viâ* the Múllôh pass to Jell, Sind, and Súnmiání. I also remembered him well, as he was one of Kâlikdád's camel-drivers, who at that time seriously annoyed me, when suffering from sickness. I reminded him of it, in a laughing mood, and he said, that he did not then know who I was. The information he imparted instantly removed the reserve of the Rais,

who, on taking leave of me in the evening, when he went to his family on the Dasht Ghárân below Rodinjo, left some of his people expressly to attend to any call I might make, which was, in one sense, needless ; as I took care not to be troublesome.

Being near to Kalât, we did not leave Rodinjo until noon of the following day ; when, crossing the extensive plain beyond it, we entered the low hills of Takht Bâdshâh and Pûl Sanjân, and ascending a slight pass, beheld the gardens of the Bráhuí capital before us. I made for the Bábí suburb, Hassan preceding me to announce my approach, and my old friend, Faiz Ahmed, with some of his family and neighbours, advanced to meet and to welcome me.

Their first care was to consider where I should most comfortably reside during my stay ; and a small garden, near the suburb, was fixed upon, to which I went against the consent of the owner, whose fears of Feringhís seemed so great that Faiz Ahmed could scarcely overcome his objections to receive me. Abdúl Wáhíd, a former acquaintance, came and greeted me ; his relative, Faiz Ahmed, returning to his house to bring a repast and tea. Abdúl Wáhíd told me I was expected, both from the advices of Kâlikdád and the announcement of Lieut. Loveday, who had so assured him but a short time ago. It being afternoon when I reached Kalât by the time Faiz Máhoméd had brought his tea it grew late ; while former acquaint-



ances poured in upon me, and I did not, therefore, call upon Lieut. Loveday that evening. He, however, heard of my arrival, and remarked, that I must be a low fellow, for, if I had been a gentleman, I should have come to him. This observation was reported to me, and I smiled at it.

Not only, ever since I left Karáchí, but even when at that place, I had heard the most astonishing accounts of Lieut. Loveday, or Labadín Sáhíb, as he was called by the natives. Actions so singular were imputed to him, and of a nature so different from what are usually looked for from British officers, that I was disinclined to credit them, and felt disposed to attribute the unfavourable impressions current, to the irritated feelings and fertile imaginations of the late khân of Kalât's subjects. And this view seemed the only rational one to take, for the alleged enormities could not have been committed without the knowledge of his superiors; and, it was inconceivable to suppose that, with such knowledge, they would tolerate them. Still, the reports were so universal, in all places and with all parties, that it was difficult to avoid the suspicion that he must be a strange person. I knew nothing of him, and even at Karáchí was unable to ascertain whether he was a military officer or civilian.

At sunrise next morning, notwithstanding the repulsive remarks of Lieut. Loveday, I called upon him at his tent, perhaps a hundred and fifty yards from

my garden, where he was superintending the erection of a house. As I approached him, in company with Abdúl Wáhíd, he said, "Mr. Masson, I believe?" I replied "Yes;" when he continued, "We may as well walk into the tent." He led the way, and I followed him. There was, in fact, but one chair in the tent, which certainly I would not have taken had he offered it; however, he did not permit me to show my breeding, but gave me an example of his, by telling me to sit on the ground, as I was used to it. He then changed his clothes, and threw down three or four newspapers before me, that I might amuse myself the while. Breakfast was brought; after which we conversed for some hours, or until noon. He inquired particularly about Las; and I discovered the meaning of the obnoxious orders of Sháh Nawáz Khân, relating to the duties there. He denied, however, having sent any letters to the jám, or even to the petty chiefs, exacting fees on the road from Belá to Wad. He silenced me on remarking upon the injustice of the arrangement as concerned the jám, by asserting that "might was right." I explained to him the situation and feelings of Réhim Khân, as far as I could judge of them, and he said, that if I had sufficient influence with him, to induce him to come to Kalát, no harm should happen to him. He vaunted the expulsion of the Bráhúís from Kachí, and its annexation to the kingdom of Kâbal, as a brilliant political measure. I did not ask why he so considered it;

but when he stated that Lord Auckland's wish was to consolidate the Bráhuí state, I could not forbear observing, that a most infelicitous plan had been adopted for the object, by dislocating its provinces, and setting up a ruler without revenue or resources of any kind. He admitted the khân was needy, and said he wished to raise a disciplined corps of three hundred men for him, but there was no money. He narrated his attempts to surprise the son of Mehráb Khân, in Panjghúr and Núshkí, and informed me that had he been captured he would have been sent to Quetta, and taught English, while Dárogah Gúl Máhoméd would have been blown from a gun. I inquired in what particular the Dárogah had so grievously offended; and Lieut. Loveday replied, that many of his letters had been intercepted before the taking of Kalât, and that there numbers had come to light, furnishing proof of a most diabolical conspiracy, and for that reason he was not to be forgiven. He explained the arrangements made, with regard to the resumed districts of Mastúng and Quetta, and told me I should be delighted when I saw Mastúng, the revenue of which he had fixed himself at twenty-seven thousand rupees, farming it, for the present year, to Díwân Rámú, but intending on the ensuing one to collect it himself. He also took much credit for opening the Múlloh pass, by blowing from a gun the petty chief who infested it, and said he wished he could get hold of Fatí Alí of Ornách, to

treat him in the same manner. Also with reference to Mastúng, he expressed regret that he had failed to persuade Capt. Bean to blow Máhoméd Khân Sherwâní from a gun, in place of appointing him the Náib of the Shâh, as questionable letters from him to the late Mehráb Khân had been found. We talked much on the policy of the measures which had brought our armies beyond the Indus, and I freely stated my opinions on the blunders and mismanagement which had spoiled everything, and on the fearful confusion that must inevitably at some period follow. Without altogether coinciding with me, or rather perhaps not choosing to say openly that he did, he made one good remark, that it would cost the Conservatives millions to repair the errors of the Whigs, as had always been the case. He inquired about the road from Súnmiání, and for what sum I would undertake to put it into good order, which obliged me to answer that I did not understand roadmaking. He also put the question, whether I intended to write a book; and then told me he purposed to make a journey to Kermân in Persia. I explained my objects in travelling, and my intention to proceed to Kândahár and thence to Kâbal, as soon as my servants with my baggage joined. He was particular in his inquiries about the kâfla, as a very large quantity of his supplies from Bombay were coming with it, and I had seen his men at Súnmiání; moreover, Ghúlám, the Bábí merchant I met at Koharn Wât, had been sent by him on their account.

At length several persons having collected outside the tent, I suggested that he might have business to transact, and took leave, when he took me to see his Arab horses, and then asked me to dine with him at his house in the town, between three and four. I at first demurred, but consented when he said he should like me to see the house.

In the afternoon, when I judged it was about the hour, I walked over to his town-residence, formerly that of Náib Múlla Hassan, from which the jewels taken at Kalât were extracted. I found Lieut. Loveday in a spacious apartment, hung round with suits of armour, and the corners filled with pikes, halberds, battle-axes, and warlike weapons, the spoil of the late khân's armoury. He was stretched on his couch, and told me that he had long since dined, but that something had been set by for me. I remarked, he did well not to wait. We again conversed some time, but he was extremely restless, sometimes rising suddenly from his couch and taking a chair, and then as suddenly leaving it for his couch. He showed me the plan of the house he was building, and of the Gothic windows he had designed for it; but when it drew near to sunset he rose to retire to his tent outside the town, where he slept. I wished him good evening, and was about to leave also, when he prayed me to talk to his múnshí. I urged that I had nothing to say to the múnshí, when he assured me the man was most intelligent, and that I should be quite astonished

at his sense. I then said there could be no harm, and he introduced me to the múnshí in the terraced court without, and level with the room. This was the unfortunate man who was afterwards slain with a party of Sípáhís at Mastúng, the first overt act of rebellion shown by the Bráhúís. He related many particulars of the capture of Kalât. His account of the death of Mehráb Khân varied a little from that given by Lieut. Loveday, who, indeed, confessed it was not exactly ascertained further than that he was killed in the *mélée*, unrecognised by those who brought him to the ground. He informed me that Lord Auckland, in the first instance, was decidedly opposed to the deposition of the Kalât chief; and that he never approved of it, but, in consequence of the representations made to him, was reduced, finally, to leave it a discretionary measure. With respect to the treaty with Mehráb Khân concluded by Sir Alexander Burnes, on my asking why Sir Alexander had protested against it, he replied, that Burnes Sáhíb left Quetta boasting that he would bring in Mehráb Khân, and that returning without him, the gentlemen laughed, on which he grew angry and protested against the treaty. I had seen a letter from Sir Alexander Burnes, in which he stated, that on his return from Kalât with the treaty he had made, he was waylaid by a party sent by Mehráb Khân, who re-possessioned themselves of it; on which account, immediately on reaching Quetta, he entered his protest against

it. He added, that he believed Mehráb Khân had despatched the party before signing the treaty, and that his counter-orders had missed it, but that, in his opinion, the circumstance did not affect the view he took of the business, or diminish the villany of the khân. Lieut. Loveday had not alluded to this imputed crime of Mehráb, and I was a little surprised to find that his múnshí did not mention it, although strenuously insisting upon the many offences he had committed. He dilated upon the spoliation of the baggage of the army in the passage through the Bolan Pass; and urged, that although Mehráb Khân disavowed any participation in it, yet penknives and surgical instruments had been purchased from the Bráhuí tribes of Merv and Isprinjí, which, in his estimation, amounted to proof that he had. He confessed, however, that no article which could be supposed to have belonged to the army was found with the property of the khân captured at Kalât; and that no money was discovered but the twenty thousand Company's rupees given by Burnes Sáhíb to the khân. I inquired how it happened that the political authorities had been so completely deceived by the unprincipled Múlla Hassan. He answered, that they had been deceived, and would not have been undeceived but for the letters which turned up at Kalât: that the envoy and minister, on hearing of Múlla Hassan's imprisonment, wrote to know why his old friend had been so ill-used; and, in answer,

Capt. Bean forwarded copies of his detected letters, while the originals were despatched to Calcutta. I further learned, that Shâh Nawâz Khân had been preferred to the government of Kalât on the score of legitimacy, being the descendant of Mohâbat Khân, the elder brother of the famous Nassîr Khân; and the múnshí said in his favour, that he acted “ba mirzí,” or according to the pleasure of the Sáhíbs.

From the múnshí's conversation I could agree with Lt. Loveday that he was an intelligent man; but, it growing late, I took leave of him, and found that Nalrúshah, a person high in the lieutenant's favour, had been directed by his master to convey me home on a riding-camel. Lt. Loveday, moreover, had, on leaving, requested me again to breakfast with him at his tent on the following morning.

The man, in whose garden Faiz Ahmed had fixed me, was by no means pleased with my presence; for the reputation acquired by Feringhís was so evil, that he could not conceive it possible that one could reside so close to him without bringing down mischief upon him,—and my visits to Lt. Loveday only confirmed him in his gloomy foreboding. Faiz Ahmed strove in vain to reconcile him, and I intimated that I would shift my quarters, as it was unpleasant to my own feelings to be considered troublesome. Faiz Ahmed, therefore, sought out another suitable place, and found



it in a garden once belonging to Fázil Khân, now a fugitive at Maskát, but which had been assumed by Shâh Nawâz Khân. To it I went, being a little nearer to Lt. Loveday's tent, though more distant from the Bábí Khél, where my friend resided.

In charge of this garden was an old lady, previously dependent on Fázil Khân, but who had not been removed by Shâh Nawâz Khân. She was also much averse to my living in her garden, and went straight to the citadel to complain of my intrusion, and of Faiz Ahmed for having caused it. She saw Mír Fatí Khân, the khân's brother, who received her rudely, and told her the garden was mine as long as I chose to remain in it. The old lady returned and never said a word; but, in the course of a day or two, told me that fear had overcome her, and now she was as desirous I should stay as she had before been to eject me.

I rose in the morning with the momentary intention of walking over to Lieut. Loveday's tent; but, reflecting on the nature of the reception he had favoured me with, his objectionable remarks, and even on the strangeness of his manner and conversation, I reasoned, what have I to do with him? and what occasion have I to trouble him with my company, or to be annoyed with his? and did not go again to him. So little did I think of the transaction at the time that the terms in which

I alluded to my intercourse with Lt. Loveday in the notes which have by accident since come into my possession, are simply these:—“On the next morning I went to call on Mr. Loveday, whom I found at a place opposite the town, where he was superintending the erection of a house. I breakfasted with him, and afterwards he invited me to dine at his house in the town at half-past three o'clock. I had no means of ascertaining the hour; and, the weather being cloudy, I may not have been quite punctual, for when I reached, Mr. Loveday had dined, and I had to sit and eat by myself.” So little importance did I attach to him or to what occurred, that I did not deem one or the other worthy of more extended notice or comment.

## CHAPTER III.

Condition of Kalât.—Events producing it.—Origin of intercourse with Mehráb Khân.—Sir Alexander Burnes's information.—Protest against treaty.—Capture of Kalât, and death of Mehráb Khân.—Changes in the government and dismemberment of Kalât.—Opinions of Mehráb Khân's guilt or innocence.—Charges against him.—Explanations thereof.—Proceedings of the envoy and minister.—His bribery of Náib Múlla Hassan.—The náib's duplicity and knavery.—Mission of Sir Alexander Burnes to Kalât.—The results.—March of troops upon Kalât.—Continued knavery of the khân's agents.—His neglect of defensive arrangements.—Assault on Kalât.—Detection of the villany of Náib Múlla Hassan and others.—Mehráb Khân's injunctions to his son.—Prize jewels.—Impolitic measures of the political authorities.—Partition of the country.—Recognition of Shâh Nawâz Khân.—Political appointment.—Activity of Lieut. Loveday.—The son of Mehráb Khân a fugitive in Kharân.

KALAT presented in aspect and condition a melancholy contrast to the tranquil and flourishing state in which I had formerly beheld it. The greater part of the town was uninhabited, and the little bazar, once busy and well supplied, was now nearly deserted. The inhabitants themselves were oppressed with gloom and despondency, as they were clad in the coarse and abject garb of poverty. All of my old acquaintances had suffered most

cruelly in the spoil of their property, and I was hurt to see those who had so recently been affluent and comfortable, present themselves before me necessitous and destitute. The sky, indeed, was as serene as ever, the orchards displayed their verdure, and the valley, as before, was adorned with cultivation, yet there was a loneliness, real or imaginary, on my part, cast over the scene, that was infectious, and with every disposition to be cheerful, I was, in despite of myself, dejected and sorrowful. A notion I had entertained at Karáchi of remaining here two or three months to arrange some of my MSS. for publication, had been dissipated on arrival, as I plainly saw that the Bráhuí capital was no longer the abode of peace and security it had formerly been, and it was, moreover, painful to witness the desolation and misery around me.

But it was necessary to await my servants and effects coming with Kâlikdád and his kâfila. I had, therefore, leisure to discourse on the events which had occurred since I left the country in 1831, and to learn what was understood with reference to the calamities which had attended the appearance of British armies in Balochistân. To the public little else is known of these lamentable events than that Kalât was taken by storm by a detachment of British troops, commanded by Major-General Wiltshire, and that the ruler, Meh-ráb Khân, with many of his chiefs, was slain. The

motives influencing the revengeful deed have never been revealed, nor are likely officially to be disclosed, because they would too clearly demonstrate the incapacity, delusion, and errors, not to say the bad passions, of the unhappy men selected by Lord Auckland to work out his visionary projects beyond the Indus. I may, therefore, in throwing what light I am able upon the proceedings, contribute a few pages to the history of an eventful period, and, although they will relate to past crimes and occurrences, they may be useful in setting forth the truth, and in serving to avert future mischief.

When the expedition in 1838 was determined upon, and it was further decided that it should march through the dominions of the khân of Kalât upon Kândahár, it became obviously necessary to secure the co-operation of that chief. Before noticing the steps taken to ensure it, a glance at the intercourse subsisting (if any could be said to subsist) with the unfortunate Bráhuí khân, may be requisite. In 1837, when Captain Burnes was ascending the Indus in progress to Kâbal, he despatched a complimentary letter, with presents, to the young son of the khân, then residing at Gandâva in Kachí, and received a letter of acknowledgment and thanks in return. When Capt. Burnes, failing in his mission to Dost Máhommed Khân, returned from Kâbal, he directed Lt. Leech, then detached at Kândahár, to fall back upon Shíkárpúr, and there to place himself under the

orders of Colonel Pottinger, the Govenor-General's agent for Sind. Lieut. Leech, in pursuance of such instructions, reached Quetta within the Kalât Khân's territories, and thence, by invitation, continued his journey to Kalât. He was received with respect and civility; presents were exchanged between him and the khân; but the latter, in course of time, grew displeased with some points in the conduct of his guest, and was very glad when Lieut. Leech finally left him and his country. By this time the knowledge of the intended restoration of Shâh Sújâh al Múlk had transpired. What passed on the subject between Lieut. Leech and the khân I know not, or whether he was authorized to communicate with him on the matter, yet, as it was then the fashion for all men to do what they were unauthorized to do, it may be suspected that Lieut. Leech would scarcely neglect the opportunity of showing his zeal, and the result, from the opinion Mehráb Khân had been induced to form of him, would scarcely have been satisfactory. Certain it is that Lieut. Leech left Kalât in no good humour with the khân.

Lt. Leech had reached Shikárpúr, and had been joined by Sir Alexander Burnes, deputed by Lord Auckland to arrange a treaty with the chiefs of Khairpúr in Northern Sind, and to accumulate supplies and necessaries for the army, on its arrival. Sir Alexander left Shikárpúr, to meet the army

on its approach to the frontier of Sind, and at his interview with Sir Henry Fane, at the ferry near Sabzal Kot, I saw him for the first time since his departure from Pesháwer for Simla. Amongst the many topics we then discussed, the question of the affairs of Kalât was naturally one. Sir Alexander observed, that Leech had put everything wrong at Kalât. As one of the principal points for which I was then contending was employment, from which my exertions might deserve and obtain credit, I could not forbear asking him if I might be allowed to go to Kalât, and put everything to rights; but Sir Alexander hung down his head, and made no reply. Subsequently I saw Sir Alexander at Roh-rí, and he told me, that Mehráb Khân had confiscated the grain collected by Lieut. Leech's agents in Kachí, and that he had addressed a letter to the khân, which, to use his own phrase, "would astound him;" and further, that Shâh Sújâh al Múlkh, who had now also reached Shikárpúr, had written to the same chief, reminding him, that Shâh Nawâz Khân was in the royal camp. From such information, it was reasonable to conclude the unlucky khân of Kalât would fare but badly with his English friends.

For some time after I heard nothing more concerning the affairs of Kalât. The papers of the day, indeed, abounded with statements of the treachery of Mehráb Khân, but I was free to suspect their accuracy. At Karáchí, however, I saw a

letter from Sir Alexander to a friend, giving an account of his mission to the khân, of the treaty he had concluded with him, of an attempt to way-lay him on his return, and of his protest against the treaty at Quetta. From the same channel I learned that it was the intention to retaliate upon the khân, when the army returned from Kâbal, and that he was doomed to loss of power, and, if secured, to linger out his existence as a state prisoner.

In process of time, the Bombay division of the army of the Indus having retrograded from Kâbal to Quetta, a detachment was ordered upon Kalât, to carry out the long-meditated plan of vengeance upon Mehrâb Khân. The consequences were, the capture and plunder of the place, the slaughter of the ruler, and a number of his dependent chiefs. They afforded subject for temporary triumph and exultation, but, unhappily, the seeds of future evil were sown, and the germs of iniquity were destined to ripen into confusion and disgrace.

The territories of the fallen chief were dismembered, the provinces of Sahârawân and Kách Gandâva were annexed to the dominions of the new king of Kâbal, and the resentment of the political authorities was so uncompromising, that, to the exclusion of the son of the late Kalât ruler, Shâh Nawâz Khân, a descendant of the elder branch of his family, was raised to the masnad, and placed over the wreck of the ill-fated country.

While these changes were effected, and no doubt



vindicated in elaborate state papers, it had never been thought necessary to explain them to the subjects of the late khân of Kalât. They beheld, indeed, the imposition of a new chief, and the dislocation of their country, but could only refer the events they witnessed to the pleasure of the sâhibs, alike to them extraordinary and incomprehensible.

Amidst the general depression and poverty which the calamity of war had inflicted upon the population of Kalât, I was pleased to observe, that the evils were borne with resignation. Those who had suffered most allowed no rancorous or violent expressions to escape their lips, but, as good Mússúlmâns, imputed their misfortunes to their own errors and to the will of Heaven. There was, however, but one opinion, that Mehrâb Khân was guiltless of treachery to the British government, and had, therefore, been undeservedly sacrificed. If astonished at this sentiment, I was more so to find, that the crimes charged to his account were wholly unknown, which was extremely singular; for, if there had been reason for them, they must have been familiar to the people here. When I urged the confiscation of grain in Kachí, a fact stated to me by Sir Alexander Burnes, as no friendly proof on the part of the late khân, I was met by the assurance, that it had never taken place. Still unwilling to give up the point, I insisted there must be some ground for the accusation, and at length elicited from an individual an explanation

tending to throw light upon the business. It seemed that Máhoméd Azem Khân, the brother of Mehráb Khân, was despatched to Kotrú with a party of horse, to see that no impediments were thrown in the way of the march of the British troops, and to take care that none of the inhabitants committed themselves in quarrels with the soldiery or camp-followers. When there, Máhoméd Azem Khân, in need of money, and acting on his own counsel and authority, demanded a sum from a Híndú of the place, and, on his refusal to comply, seized his property, amongst which was a parcel of grain. The Híndú pretended, whether truly or not, that he had purchased the grain for the English; his fellow-traders, as is usual with them, when an act of tyranny is practised towards one of their body, closed their shops and ceased to transact business. A compromise was speedily effected, however, and Máhoméd Azem Khân receiving a consideration of four hundred rupees, the Híndú shops were reopened, and business conducted as before. In this case, the report, probably, of the British native agent at Kotrú wonderfully exaggerated the affair, and the English officers to whom he made it were, perhaps, too eager to listen to any complaints of Mehráb Khân; and the consequences of an attempt at extortion by Máhoméd Azem Khân from one of his own subjects were construed into an undisguised and wanton confiscation of the grain collected by British agents in Kachí, which

even Máhoméd Azem Khân, worthless as he was, never dreamed of. Mehráb Khân, further, on hearing of the extortion, addressed a letter of severe rebuke to his brother, and cautioned him against a repetition of his unbecoming conduct. I cannot forbear mentioning, to the honour of Mehráb Khân, that in his instructions to his subjects in Kachí he expressly enjoined them, in case of any dispute with a person belonging to the British army, on no account to resent it, but to carry a complaint to the general; an order so considerate that I wondered he should have thought of it.

Admitting the confiscation of grain as somewhat explained, the waylaying of Sir Alexander Burnes, on his return from Kalât to Quetta, which caused his protest against the treaty he had made with the unlucky khân, had still to be accounted for. Had Mehráb Khân been guilty of so foul a deed, it were criminal to urge any argument in his favour, and he must be held to have merited the vengeance which fell upon him. I was bewildered to learn, that all were unconscious of such waylaying, and to find myself laughed at for supposing that the khân would have committed himself in so flagrant a manner. I must confess, from what I knew of his disposition, and from what I could infer of his probable course of policy, I doubted it; but, in opposition thereto stood the clear testimony of Sir Alexander Burnes. All inquiries on the subject appeared to be fruitless of explanation, and I began

to despair of obtaining a solution of the mystery; yet, as such an action could not have happened to such an individual without being generally known, I almost suspected, what the character of Sir Alexander would well justify, that some very trifling and unimportant occurrence had been magnified by him into one of consequence, and that, without due inquiry, it had been made fatal to the *khân*. If that unhappy chief were not guilty in this instance, a lamentable proof is afforded of the combination of unfavourable circumstances which precipitated his fate; and the expression which many apply to him, that he was stricken by God, becomes justified. We may even believe, with the pious *Músúlmân*, that man cannot relieve or assist him whom God has abandoned.

To the *khân's* vindicators I still urged the base outrage on Sir Alexander as an unanswerable proof of his guilt, but found no one able to explain a circumstance which, for the first time, they had learned from myself, and I became hopeless of being better informed on the subject; accidentally, at last, a discourse on other topics revealed the fact, on which the accusation had been founded.

From Quetta Sir Alexander proceeded to Kalât to negotiate a treaty with *Mehráb Khân*. He was accompanied by one *Máhomed Sheríf*, a *saiyad*, who had conspicuously figured in the treasons which had disturbed the rule of the *Bráhuí khân*. He had, moreover, already been practised

upon by the envoy and minister, and was now, although a subject of Mehráb Khân, in the interests of the British government. Mehráb Khân concluded a treaty in conformity to Sir Alexander Burnes's wishes, and with it Sir Alexander returned towards Quetta, leaving his Múnshí Mohan Lâll to accompany the khân to the British camp, there to pay his respects to his Majesty the Shâh, and to the envoy and minister. The treaty had been concluded contrary to the wishes of Saiyad Sheríf and his colleague in villany, Náib Múlla Hassan, both of whom had been bought over by the envoy and minister; and who had for common object the ruin of their khân and master. It consisted with their views to annul the treaty, which, if carried into effect, secured the stability of the khân, and entirely frustrated their bad intentions. Náib Múlla Hassan, who remained with the khân, persuaded him that the object of Sir Alexander was to decoy him to Quetta, when he would be sent a state-prisoner to Calcutta. The khân, prone to suspicion, became irresolute; but his anxiety was removed, and no further evil might have happened, for a letter from Sir Alexander informed him, that the shâh had marched from Quetta; it was therefore needless that he should give himself the trouble to go there.

Saiyad Sheríf now decided upon a bold step to counteract the effects of this intimation, and to assure the khân's ruin. He represented to Sir

Alexander, that the crafty and wicked Mehráb repented of the treaty, and had commissioned a party to intercept him. Sir Alexander, giving entire credence to his villanous companion, made over to his charge the treaty, with two thousand rupees in money, to be secreted. The document and the money were placed within coverlets carried on the back of a camel. Robbers were appointed by the saiyyad himself to attack the equipage of Sir Alexander, some of his camels were made booty, and amongst them the one bearing the treaty and money. If I remember rightly, Sir Alexander stated, that two or three of his followers were killed or wounded. The feat of the saiyyad had been successful; he had too much experience of the Feringhís to fear that they would penetrate his stratagem, and the odium of the monstrous action was imputed to the innocent Mehráb Khân. Sir Alexander reached Quetta, and protested against the treaty. The Kalát chief, hearing of the robbery, but unconscious that he was suspected of having instigated it, set inquiries on foot, and particularly called his náib, Réhimdád, located at Quetta, to account, as it happened within his jurisdiction. The náib informed him, that Saiyyad Sheríf was the offender, and that his nephew and gardener were the leaders of the band, to whom he had paid, as fee and reward, the sum of fourteen hundred rupees. The khân, aware that the saiyyad was in the pay and interest of the British govern-

ment, did not deem it necessary to take further measures, regarding the matter as one which interested the Feringhís rather than himself, all the while ignorant that he was suspected, or accused of it. This disclosure gave me great pain, but hardly surprised me, as I knew the haste with which Sir Alexander Burnes was apt to jump at conclusions, and that he never sought to ascertain whether they were correct or otherwise; still the results were so fatal as to cause a sensation of disgust and horror, that the fate of men should have been placed at the mercy of the miserable political officers, in whom, at that time, Lord Auckland was pleased to repose confidence.

If an explanation had been afforded to the accusation of waylaying Sir Alexander Burnes, there was yet another charge which required to be removed before the khân could be acquitted of enmity to the British government, and this was the opposition offered to the passage of the troops through the Bolan pass, and the serious depredations committed on the baggage. I could readily comprehend that the rude and lawless tribes neighbouring to that route little needed the incitement or encouragement of the khân to exercise their natural instincts and propensities to plunder and destroy; yet it was necessary to be assured, that the chief did *not* instigate them, as he was denounced to have done. In this instance also, the character of Mehráb Khân stood the test of in-

quiry, for it proved that not only did he never promote or recommend such aggressions, but they likewise were in a great measure owing to the enmity of his own faithless subjects; and these again were the bribed and trusted agents of the British political authorities. The criminals in this case were Ghúlám Khân and Khân Máhoméd, brothers to Dáoud Máhoméd, the late Ghiljí adviser of Mehráb Khân, and who had been slain by Náib Múlla Hassan, by the khân's order; an event which relieved the khân from an imperious, if not treacherous minister, and replaced the múlla in power and active employment.

The Ghiljí brothers had, when Dáoud Máhoméd was living, and all-powerful, married into the Bangúl Zai tribe of Bráhuís, and established an influence in it. Their desire to avenge their brother's death had induced them to court a connexion with the British, and their services had been eagerly accepted; the treachery of Mehráb Khân was, of course, the burden of their story, and the cause they had for dissatisfaction became a recommendation to them. It behoved them to substantiate the treachery they asserted; to do so, and at the same time to implicate the khân, they set the Bangúl Zais, the Khúrds, and other tribes adjacent to the Bolan, in motion. It must be understood, that Mehráb Khân had no real control over the Bolan pass, and, had he traversed it with an army, he would have been as liable to acts of petty



plunder as Sir John Kean, or any other general would be; but the depredations would have been confined to the carrying off a stray, or weary camel, as opportunity presented; and, moreover, it must be borne in mind that some of the tribes, and those who generally infest the pass, are Marrís and Khâkâs, not even subjects of Kalât. But for the artifice of Ghúlám Khân, and Khân Máhoméd, the British army would have passed the Bolan defiles without loss, or any that a little vigilance might not have prevented. That the contrary happened, is to be ascribed to those men, the friends of the envoy and minister, and not to the hostility of Mehráb Khân. That unfortunate chief was constantly urged by the Kândahár sirdárs, and by Assád Khân of Khárân, with other people, to erect sanghars and defend the passage, Assád Khân volunteering to conduct the defence; but the khân as constantly refused, adhering to his determination to oppose no obstacle to the march of the British army. As the charge of inciting the robberies in the Bolan pass was one of the graver kind advanced by the political authorities against Mehráb Khân, and to substantiate which they gave themselves no little trouble, a smile is due to the proof they obtained, by purchasing penknives and surgical instruments from the tribes of Merv and Isprinjí. Every one knew that the tribes plundered, but it was omitted to ascertain by whom they had been instigated; and, on this

subject, no one knew better than Ghúlám Khân, the friend of the envoy and minister.

If the treason of the brothers of Dáoud Máhoméd vindicated the khân, as regarded the Bolan, there yet remained a point on which I desired to be satisfied, before I could assent to the conclusions of my Kalât friends, as to his innocence in his dealings with the British authorities, or before I could admit, with them, that he did not endeavour to obstruct the march of the army. This related to the large quantity of grain he had stored up in Kalât, because I could not but conceive that, if professing to throw the country open to British agents for the purchase of supplies, he had secretly issued orders forbidding sales, and diverted all the grain into his own magazines; such a mode of proceeding could not well be deemed friendly, for it was immaterial if the destruction of an army be effected by the sword or by famine, by open violence or secret fraud. The accumulation of grain at Kalât proved, according to my informants, to have had no reference to the march of the British force, but was owing to the advice of Díwân Bacha, the khân's Hindú agent, who recommended it as a financial measure, the operation of which had commenced three years before the English expedition was thought of. The Hindú proposed to profit by the drought, and consequent scarcity of grain, and amused Mehráb Khân with the hopes of filling his coffers; but, it was supposed,

that he profited more than his master by the speculation and monopoly he created, for all that Mehráb Khân did in the affair was to deposit, in store, the quantity of grain usually given to his dependents, paying them with cash, in lieu thereof; while the Hindú, with his own capital, made extensive purchases throughout the country, and made the khân's authority subservient to his ends. The monopoly was exceedingly distasteful to the people, and when the díwân was slain (for he also shared the fate of his lord) no one lamented him.

There was yet another charge I had to prefer against Mehráb Khân; which, if it did not imply any great villany on his part, might evince that he did not estimate lightly the benefits of his alliance. I had learned from Sir Alexander Burnes, that the khân had demanded the restoration of the port of Karáchí by the amírs of Sind, as the price of his friendship. I was a little amused at the time, not so much at the demand as at the rage Sir Alexander affected, in consequence of it; as I could not forget, that the modest demand of Dost Máhoméd Khân at Kâbal, for Peshewár and its territory, which had never belonged to him, was very kindly listened to; and I could not but know, that Karáchí had once belonged to the Kalât family. Now, however, when pressing this convincing proof of the presumption and crime of Mehráb Khân, I was rather ashamed to find my own good sense questioned for noticing it; as

it seemed the demand was only diplomatically set forth, neither the khân, nor any other person, supposing that Karáchí would be restored. If such be the case, and I believe there is little reason to doubt it, the inexperience of Sir Alexander Burnes in oriental diplomacy, conduced to the same errors here as at Kâbal; Dost Máhoméd Khân lost his authority, and Mehráb Khân his throne and life, because Sir Alexander, and the envoy and minister, were ignorant that it was the process, in eastern negotiations, to start with great and extravagant pretensions, and then gradually to diminish them, and finally to abandon them altogether. A departure from this rule, as was observed to me, would have exposed Mehráb Khân and his statesmen to the charge of dulness and incapacity; and those who laughed at the notion that he expected Karáchí, insisted, that he was most unfairly judged to be untractable and presumptuous, from having followed merely the forms of a science which his opponents had not the sagacity to comprehend.

Such were the explanations and statements I received relative to some of the charges against Mehráb Khân, of which I had become cognizant. Those who advanced them, and those who advised and sanctioned the measures which led to the fall of the unhappy man in consequence, are of course free to offer invalidating testimony. Until they do, I fear the opinion may be too justly entertained that the chief of Kalât was sacrificed to the

want of common sense and the resentment of the political officers employed west of the Indus.

When the army had concentrated at Shikárpúr, and was about to march towards Kândahár, if a person in any way acquainted with the state of the countries through which it would pass, and with the situation, and policy of the chiefs, had reflected on the contingencies likely to happen, the contumacy or hostility of the Kalât ruler was one of the events the least to be expected, for he had everything to gain by the movement, supposing, which was reasonable to be supposed, that no evil was intended him. His announced treachery was therefore to me a most unlooked-for piece of intelligence, and although I knew that he was surrounded by evil counsellors, and that he had but an ordinary capacity, I still suspected that much of his misfortune was rather owing to misunderstanding than to his guilt. I was anxious therefore to ascertain the feeling as to his sentiments when the expedition across the Indus became known to him, because the advantages which it placed within his reach were so palpable, that, in rejecting them, if cleared from the imputation of crime, he was still liable to the minor charge of folly. I was assured that he heard the tidings of the advance of the British army with high gratification; that he was so overjoyed, that, as my informant expressed it, "had he had wings, he would have flown to its meeting." At that time he justly appreciated the nature of his position, and the

benefits which must have followed his furtherance of the views of the British authorities. He saw himself about to be relieved from the continual dread he lived in, of the capricious and tyrannical sirdárs of Kándahár, and of any mistrust he must have occasionally felt of the confederated chiefs of Sind. He also saw the certainty of his authority being firmly established in his own dominions, and his imagination presented the agreeable picture of the unruly and rebellious chieftains, who during his sway had given him so much trouble and disquietude, at his feet, as submissive and humble suppliants for mercy. In this happy temper, he addressed Sir Alexander Burnes, expressing his anxiety and wish to see him, but craving to be excused from the presence of Lieut. Leech, whose conduct had displeased him.

With the khân of Kalât in this disposition, a glance may be directed at the contemporaneous proceedings of the British authorities at Shikárpúr, for it is but just to inquire what steps they took to secure and confirm the good feelings of the khân, and in what manner they thought fit to conciliate him. I have noticed, that, as regarded the alleged confiscation in Kachí, Sir Alexander had addressed a letter to the khân, which would "astound" him, and that Shâh Sújâh al Múlkh had reminded him, that Shâh Nawâz Khân (a claimant and pretender to the Kalât throne) was in the royal camp. The opening of the communications between the khân

and the authorities at Shikárpúr, was not therefore auspicious.

At Kalât the necessity was acknowledged of an attempt to remove misunderstanding, and a mission to the envoy and minister was determined upon ; but the difficulty was to select a proper representative, and it may be truly said the khân had not a proper person to send. The aspirants for the honourable employ were numerous, but Náib Múlla Hassan, in virtue of his office, carried the day. Here the weakness and infatuation of Mehráb Khân were first manifested. He did not oppose the mission of the náib, although conscious of his ill feeling, and morally certain that he should be betrayed by him. The only excuse for the extreme imprudence of the khân was, that from the reception and countenance afforded to Shâh Nawâz Khân, the menacing letters of the shâh and Sir Alexander Burnes, and the notion he had that Lieut. Leech would injure him, he already considered himself a doomed man ; a fact pointed out and insisted upon by those near him who desired his downfall, and particularly by Náib Múlla Hassan, who aggravated the danger, with the view of displaying the urgency and importance of his mission.

The náib selected for companion Saiyad Máhomed Sheríf, another traitor, equally mistrusted and obnoxious. While this strange mission was in progress, the khân followed, on his own part, the precautionary policy of using every endeavour to avoid

giving cause for offence, and his instructions to his chiefs and subjects in Kachí were all framed in the same spirit.

I know not whether the interview between the envoy and minister and Náib Múlla Hassan took place at Shikárpúr or Bâgh in advance. Its results were remarkable. To accomplish the ruin of Mehráb Khân, it was necessary for Náib Múlla Hassan to deceive the envoy and minister, as well as the intended victim. He perfectly succeeded. In place of advocating his master's interests, he accused him of the most mischievous plots and intentions, and was unhappily credited by the credulous envoy and minister. In the same breath he avowed his own ardent attachment, was believed, and the chief political authority with the army of the Indus signed a document, by which he engaged to recompense the service and goodwill of a traitor. Whatever may be thought of this transaction, I fear it tells unfavourably for the common sense and principle of the envoy and minister; for how could a man with common sense have been so easily deceived, and how could a man of ordinary principle have confided in the representations of a scoundrel, exerting himself to injure the ruler whose servant he was, and whose cause he had undertaken to defend? Another mischief attending the affair was, that it was not so secretly done but that it transpired, and consequently confirmed all the gloomy forebodings of Mehráb Khân.



The British functionary did not, however, at this time contemplate the destruction of the Kalât chief, or even his deposition; but Múlla Hassan was instructed to return to Kalât, and to persuade the khân from his evil course; and he took leave, rejoicing in the success of his villany, while his dupe, the envoy and minister, plumed himself on having made a clever diplomatic hit, in having gained over the minister of Mehráb Khân.

At Kalât, Múlla Hassan assured the khân that the English were faithless, that their intentions were to send him to Calcutta, and that he had nothing to hope from them; that they had sought, by bland speeches and the lure of money, to secure him, but, God be praised! his devotion to the khân was unalterable. He consoled the khân, by representing that they were comparatively weak, that the amount of real force was small, and there was little to fear from them. Múlla Hassan did not confine his dexterity to such statements, but while he reported to the envoy and minister that all his efforts to induce the perverse khân to a becoming sense of his situation were useless, and that he still persisted in a course of opposition, and was constantly intent upon new plots and conspiracies, he issued a variety of letters in the khân's name, and authenticated by his seal, which by virtue of his office he had in possession, addressed to various parties throughout the country, calling upon them to molest the march of the British troops by every

means in their power. Many of these letters were intercepted, as probably they were intended to be, and tended of course to convince the envoy and minister of the turpitude of the khân of Kalât, who, in truth, knew nothing of them. The coadjutors of Múlla Hassan, Saiyad Máhomed Sheríf, and the brothers of the late Dáoud Máhomed, were alike indefatigable in inciting the tribes to rapine, at the same time ascribing the evils occasioned by themselves to the unquenchable enmity of the khân.

Under this complication of villany and infatuation, the British army passed through Kachí, the defiles of the Bolan pass, and encamped at Quetta. While in Kachí, as far as the khân was concerned, free permission was given to traverse the province by any and whatever route, and to an application made that the Bombay division should pass by the Múllloh route, and therefore to Kalât, no opposition was made. The route was not, indeed, followed, but the khân had shown that he was not hostile, for he offered no objection to it; and his submissive disposition may be conceived when he consented to allow a force to approach his capital.

Notwithstanding the depredations committed in the Bolan pass, and that they were ascribed to the hostility of Mehráb Khân, it does not appear that the idea of revenge was yet cherished against that chief, and a final effort was made to

enumerate him in the list of friends. Sir Alexander Burnes, attached to the mission with the title of envoy to Kalât, and other places, was, of course, destined to effect a reconciliation with the implacable khân, and for that purpose left Quetta. So little was he, in common with the envoy and minister, acquainted with the nature of things at Kalât, that he selected for his companion Saiyad Sheríf. It is believed that Sir Alexander offered the khân the sum of one lakh and a half of rupees per annum to keep the road open from Shikárpúr to Quetta. A treaty to such effect was signed and sealed, and it remained merely for the khân to accompany Sir Alexander back to Quetta, there to pay his respects to the shâh, and the envoy and minister. To this visit the khân, no doubt, had great averseness, as, while very willing to see the envoy, he much disliked to be compelled to wait upon the shâh, of whom he thought less favourably than did his English allies. The opposition of náib Múlla Hassan, and Saiyad Sheríf, had proved ineffectual to prevent the treaty; but they did not cease to represent to the khân, that his journey to Quetta would prove fatal to his liberty, if not to his life. As soon as the envoy and minister arrived at Quetta, it would appear that the náib and his associate traitors were in his presence; the point then insisted upon was, that Mehráb Khân should come to Quetta, which Múlla Hassan signified to the khân, but, while

promising to persuade him to comply with the request, he dissuaded him in the strongest terms, urging that it was certain destruction, and concluded by imploring that, if the *khân*, in his wisdom, should take the fatal step, he might not be charged with the neglect of his duty, or of omission in having warned him of evil. The letters were full of the most violent denunciations of the perfidious intentions of the British authorities. Sir Alexander Burnes had left Quetta, boasting that he would return with *Mehrâb Khân*; that he might the more certainly succeed, he gave the *khân* twenty thousand rupees for expenses on the road. So much unexpected liberality gave force to the insinuations poured into the *khân's* ears, and when the poor man wished to take a party of five hundred followers, that he might appear as became his rank, Sir Alexander told him that twenty were sufficient, which afforded a triumph to *Múlla Hassan* and his gang, who appealed to the *khân* whether it was or not plain enough that the only wish of Sir Alexander was to decoy him to Quetta, there to be seized and sent to Calcutta. Still *Merâb Khân* ordered his tents to be pitched without the town, preparatory to his march, but the precipitancy of Sir Alexander Burnes, who was in haste to convey the tidings of his own success, and to receive the gratulations his vanity suggested would be offered to him, gave the final blow to the arrangement, as he started for Quetta,

leaving his múnshí, Mohan Láll, to attend upon the khân. The unfortunate man observed, that Sikandar (Sir Alexander) fancied to delude him by grinning and leering, and now he had left his múnshí behind him, of whom he spoke even more disrespectfully. Mohan Láll profited by the absence of his indulgent patron, to pretend that he had a *júda ráh*, or distinct influence with Lord Auckland, on the strength of which he was anxious to purchase a beautiful kaníz, or slave girl. The bewildered khân was disgusted. Whether he would have proceeded with Sir Alexander is uncertain, but it was too much to expect he would follow the *cortège* of Mohan Láll. He delayed until a letter reached from Sir Alexander, stating that there was no longer occasion to visit Quetta, as the sháh had marched; on which Mohan Láll left Kalát, and was escorted by Dárogah Gúl Máhomed to the foot of the Khwojak pass.

The bold and villanous expedient resorted to by the subtle Saiyad Sheríf to consummate the khân's ruin, and the protest of Sir Alexander Burnes against the treaty concluded by himself, have been before noticed.

The fate of Mehráb Khân was henceforth decreed, and it was determined eventually to make an example of him. I shall not stay to moralise upon these startling events, or by any remarks endeavour to influence the judgment which may be formed upon them. At Quetta, when the army advanced,

Capt. Bean, in command of the 1st regiment of the shâh's contingent, was left by the envoy and minister in political charge. Apparently as deeply convinced of the criminality of the khân as his patron, and aware that the unhappy chief was proscribed, he, it is complained, refused to see the persons deputed by the khân to open an intercourse with him.

When the shâh and his allies had entered Kândahâr, the khân, ignorant that his treaty had been protested against, ordered Náib Múlla Hassan to proceed there, with congratulatory letters and presents for the king and political officers. The náib went as far as Quetta, where, no doubt, he practised upon the imagination of Capt. Bean, as he formerly had upon that of the envoy and minister, and wrote to the khân that the British army had been defeated, and that in a few days he would hear of them as fugitives in his country; that he was willing to go to Kândahâr, as the khân wished, but it was better to wait awhile; and he wished to avoid the reproach of being considered unskilful, or neglectful of his duty. The náib's letter, as usual, teemed with the most virulent assertions of the perfidy of the English. He delayed at Quetta, disobeying the repeated injunctions of the khân to proceed to the allied camp, until Ghazní was captured, and Kâbal was in possession of the shâh. The khân, in despair, directed Náib Réhimdád, his governor at Quetta, to take up the mission which Múlla Hassan declined, and to make the best

of his way to Kâbal, with letters, and an increased stock of presents. This worthy, either in league with Múlla Hassan, or alike desirous to implicate the khân, invented fresh falsehoods, and excused himself; while he set on foot a series of depredations upon the troops cantoned at Quetta, by carrying off the camels when foraging, and sending them for sale to Sístân, not daring to send them to Kalât.

In process of time, the brigade under Major-Gen. Wiltshire reached Quetta, in its return from Kâbal, and the opportunity presented itself to avenge the crimes and treasons of the Kalât chief. Náib Múlla Hassan was again in the British camp, exercising the same manœuvres he had constantly put into play, and with the like success. He assured the political officer that all his endeavours had failed to alter the feeling or disposition of the khân; and wrote to the latter on no account to repair to Quetta, or he would be sent a prisoner to Calcutta.

A remarkable proof was now afforded of the delusion in which the khân had been kept, or, it may be, of his little expectation of being visited with vengeance for crimes which he was unconscious of having committed; for it was not until he heard of the advance of British troops upon Kalât that he thought of making preparations for defence. On the spur of the moment he appealed to the tribes, and despatched his son, Máhomed Hassan, under charge of Dárogah Gúl Máhomed, to Nushkí. In the hour of need Mehráb Khân

found himself abandoned; he had alienated the chiefs of tribes, and few responded to his call. As the British force approached, he deputed Akhúnd Máhoméd Sídik to confer with the political officer attending it. The reckless man observed that he knew the Akhúnd was a traitor, and would betray him. He was quite right, the Akhúnd did betray him, as far as it was in his power, and received drafts on Hindús of Kalât for sums of money. The interview of this representative of the khân with the political officer took place at Mangachar. The Akhúnd stipulated that the force was not to appear before Kalât until the morning of the 6th of November, which was acceded to, without the intention of abiding by the stipulation; the Akhúnd purposing that Mehráb Khán should have time for flight, to which he meant to persuade him. It was not, however, the intention to permit the khân or the booty to escape, and the force arrived before Kalât on the morning of the 5th of November, when an attack on the place immediately followed, as its defences were too weak to require delay. The garrison consisted, with few exceptions, of the villagers neighbouring to Kelât, and the greater part of them dropped from the walls and made off when the assault commenced. The gates were blown open, the town entered, and the citadel forced, when Mehráb Khán was slain, with many chiefs, of more or less distinction, in one of the lower apartments. In an upper apartment were



Naíb Múlla Hassan, Naíb Réhimdád, the Akhúnd Máhoméd Sídik, and some thirty persons; they, of course, surrendered when the khân was no more. It is supposed by the Bráhuís that the ultimate design of Múlla Hassan was to procure his own advancement to the masnad of Kalât, but, unfortunately for him, in the search made by the political officers for documents, his letters to the khân were discovered under the pillow of that wretched man. His arrest followed, and, with Réhimdád, he was sent prisoner to the fortress of Bakkar. Capt. Bean is said to have reproached him with the death of Mehráb Khân; he might have justly done so; and, if he did, his reproach was a testimony to the innocence of the fallen chief.

The scenes following the capture of the Bráhuí capital may be passed unnoticed; the calamities suffered by the inhabitants were the inevitable consequences of war; yet, it is due to relate, that the deportment of the general of the British force is spoken of with approbation, and the respect shown to a bed-ridden lady, one of the wives of the slaughtered khân, is remembered with gratitude.

On the approach of the force, the first step of the khân was to order his brother, Mír Azem Khân, to leave the town, and provide for his safety. When the attack commenced, his wives and female attendants were put without the gates, and some of them, even on foot, were left to shift for themselves. When the town was entered, and all hope extin-

guished, the khân entrusted to some one, as a present for his son, deputed to Núshkí, a rifle, on which were inlaid, in golden characters, the names of twenty-three of his ancestors. This was to be preserved as a token by which, wherever the son went, he might be recognized. Three injunctions accompanied it. 1st. Not to surrender to the Feringhís with too much haste. 2nd. Not to confide in the Bráhúís until they had committed themselves inextricably with the Feringhís, or he would be betrayed by them, as his father had been. 3rd. Not to smoke tobacco or to take snuff, as such indulgences would lead to drinking wine, and he would become as useless as his uncle, Mír Azem. This injunction the khân seemed to think the most particular, for he desired his son to be warned, that if he disobeyed it he would arise from his grave and reproach him.

The khân's personal property (excepting cash and jewels) fell into the possession of the captors, and to save them the trouble of collecting it, he had already packed it, as if for removal. The khân being reputed rich in jewels, inquiries were made for them, and in a few days information was given which led to their discovery in the house of Náíb Múlla Hassan; so it proved that the wily traitor had been sufficiently adroit to have them deposited there, of course intending to reserve them for his own benefit. Wonderful were the expectations raised by the discovery of the jewels, a portion only

of the khân's store, though probably the greater portion. But a fatality attended them; the vessel in which the gems were despatched for Bombay was lost, and the treasure itself, although preserved, was found to be of little value, as the stones, although large and uncut, were flawed; and, at the auction, by which they were sold, obtained but 60,000 rupees, or 6000*l*. The person who revealed the secret of their deposit received a reward, became the confidant of Lieut. Loveday, and eventually one of the evil geniuses who consigned him to destruction. In the house of Náib Múlla Hassan a discovery of another nature was made, not only furnishing evidence of his guilt, but curiously illustrating the mode by which he had effected the ruin of Mehráb Khân. Above one hundred blank sheets of paper were found, sealed, and ready to be filled up at discretion. They explained the origin of the missives by which the tribes were inflamed and incited to action, the odium of which had been, it may be feared unjustly, ascribed to the Bráhúí chief.

Kalât being in possession of the British, its chief slain, and his son a fugitive, it naturally became a subject of consideration as to the future government. The claims of the son never seem to have been thought of for a moment. Had his father been ever so guilty, their recognition would not have been the less politic or advisable; but now that the train of events and disclosures had evidenced that he was not so criminal as had been

supposed, and that he had fallen a victim to treason, to the display of which the errors of the political authorities had unconsciously contributed, the claims of the son demanded every attention, not merely on the abstract principles of rightful descent and established usage, but on the score of generosity, which, with a British government, should have had equal weight.

Had the claims of the son at this early period been acknowledged, or had the circumstances extenuating the supposed guilt of his sire been made known, it might be conjectured that the plunder found in the palace, being entirely personal property, could not have been retained; if inconvenient to admit them on this account, it was doubly so as in a manner confessing that the khân had been sacrificed to error and misconception; and this was an alternative which honourable and high-minded men only could have been expected to embrace. It would have been unjust to have hoped so much from the political authorities of the army of the Indus.

The foul deed had been done: it was necessary to preserve unsullied the reputation of Lord Auckland's political clique, and, to conceal their incapacity, the injustice shown to the father was to be perpetuated by that offered to the unoffending son. Those so mal-adroit in matters of right were expert in matters of evil, and Shâh Nawâz Khân, a descendant of Mohâbat Khân, who ruled at Kalât a century before, was placed on the masnad of Kalât,

on the plea of legitimacy. I know not with whom this arrangement originated; it suffices that it was approved and adopted. The Bráhuís were astonished to learn that their three preceding khâns were illegitimate rulers; but, unhappily, they did not acquiesce in the validity of the decision, and their sympathies were directed to the son of Mehráb Khân in exile.

By the partition of the country which accompanied the elevation of Shâh Nawâz Khân, the northern province of Sahárawân, with Quetta and its dependent districts, and the province of Kach Gandava, with the mountain districts east of it, were annexed to the dominions of the king of Kâbal, and by this dismemberment, the provinces bordering on the Indus, of Hárând and Dájil, were quietly transferred to Ranjit Singh.

An object of this wholesale partition, is said to have been the desire to consolidate the Bráhuí nation.

The real purpose, if a judgment may be allowed from the dismemberment of the country, and the transfer of the Sahárawân tribes, was to sever the Bráhuís as a people, and thereby to augment the importance and revenue of the newly formed kingdom of Kâbal, for Shâh Nawâz Khân, by being inducted into Kalât, had no authority beyond that place, and no means to enforce it.

The first step of the new khân proved, however, that he understood the principles of legitimacy,

which had placed him in Kalât, for obtaining a loan of 60,000 rupees from Mr. Ross Bell at Shikárpúr, he gave him in payment thereof orders on the customs of Las, affecting to cancel the remission granted, a century before, by Nassír Khân, and although this liberty was afterwards disapproved by Lord Auckland, it was strictly in accordance with the legitimate notion of his lordship and his advisers, which influenced their recognition of the claims of the new khân.

It may be observed that, prior to the fall of Meh-ráb Khân, the chiefs of Jhálawân, as Isâ Khân of Wad and Kamâl Khân of Bâghwâna, emboldened by the distracted state of affairs at Kalât, and of the khân's danger from the British, were in open revolt, and Rashíd Khân of Zehrí, the Sirdár of Jhálawân, who had been for some years disaffected, had entirely ceased from attendance at Kalât, and all these chiefs had rejected the appeal to coöperate in the defence of the capital. They therefore became the friends of the British and of Shâh Nawâz Khân; and it was peculiarly unfortunate, and what might, and ought to have been avoided, that both in Balochistân and Afghânistân the traitors to the old order of things became the favoured and trusted adherents to the new. As might have been expected, the confidence unwisely reposed in them was betrayed.

The establishment of Shâh Nawâz Khân led to the appointment of a political officer at Kalât, and

Lieut. Loveday, an assistant to Capt. Bean at the time of its capture, was nominated to the post. The first object of attention with the new khân was the young son of Mehráb Khân, who had taken refuge in Panjghúr, and, accompanied by Lieut. Loveday, he started with a small party to dislodge him, and, if possible, to secure his person. His plans were well laid, and, but for secret intelligence conveyed, be it remarked, by Kamâl Khân of Bâghwân, the youth no doubt would have been made a prisoner. His escape did not prevent the general plunder of the tribes who had afforded him shelter, and scenes were enacted so infamous, that those present spoke of them with horror. A large amount of spoil was obtained, and Shâh Nawâz Khân returned to Bâghwân and married a sister of Kamâl Khân. Lieut. Loveday returned to Kalât from Panjghúr, but made a visit to Bâghwân, bringing to Shâh Nawâz a treaty ratified by the governor-general, from which had been expunged an article binding the British government to maintain the khân on the masnad in which they had placed him. Lieut. Loveday, again returning to Kalât, hearing that the son of Mehráb Khân had sought refuge in Núshkí, started with Mír Fatí Khân, the brother of Shâh Nawâz Khân, to expel him. Intelligence conveyed to the youth, again enabled him to escape; but the Zigger Minghal tribe were no better treated than the tribes of Panjghúr, and the chief, Fazil Khân, who submitted, was

brought to Kalât. Shâh Nawâz Khân, about the same time, compelled the nominal allegiance of the Sâh Saholî tribe, near Khozdâr; soon after which he returned to Kalât.

The zeal of Lieut. Loveday obtained the approbation of Capt. Bean, and afterwards his disapprobation, when the envoy and minister expressed his displeasure at the excursions into Núshkí and Panjghúr; and Lieut. Loveday was instructed, that it was not his duty to interfere in the affairs of the country at all, much less to accompany the khân in his forays. But for this prohibition, it is probable that a third foray would have been directed upon Khárân, whose chief had, after some demur, received the wandering and destitute son of Mehráb Khân. Shâh Nawâz Khân much urged the step, saying, the evil, if taken in time, would be easily removed, but that it might become dangerous if neglected. His prediction was soon verified. A step which might have prevented the revolt of the Brahúís was abandoned, because the khân was unable to follow it up unassisted, and Lieut. Loveday was forbidden to employ his guard or to lend assistance.

I have now briefly explained the state of things at the period of my arrival at Kalât. The son of Mehráb Khân, while known to be in Khárân, had no intention of appearing in arms, nor had Assad Khân any notion of interesting himself more in his favour, than to afford him asylum and subsistence as long as he continued his guest. Under the new



distribution of the country, the district of Mastúng, annexed with Quetta, to the dominion of Kâbal, was governed by Máhoméd Khân, chief of the Sherwâní tribe of Bráhuís, with a salary of two hundred rupees per annum, and the title of Náib to his Majesty Shâh Sujâh al Mulkh. The revenue, which had been most arbitrarily fixed, was farmed to Díwân Rámú, previously in the employ of Mehráb Khân; the district of Quetta, or Shâll, the headquarters of Capt. Bean and a military force, was governed, under the political officer, by Máhoméd Sídik Khân, a son of the late Samander Khân, Popal Zai. The resumed province of Kach Gandâva was governed under Mr. Ross Bell, the political agent in Northern Sind, by Saiyad Máhoméd Sheríf, whose treason to Mehráb Khân had elevated him to the rank of Náib to His Majesty Shâh Sújâh al Múlkh.

## CHAPTER IV.

Residence at Kalât.—Panic in the country.—Arrival of kâfila.—Misfortune of Yaiya, a déhwâr.—Consternation.—Commencement of revolt and slaughter of a party of sîpâhîs at Mastúng.—Refuse to leave Kalât.—Proceedings of dárogah Gúl Máhomed.—Alarm at Kalât.—Removal to the Babí suburb.—Darbâr of Shâh Nawâz Khân.—Abode in Attá Máhomed's garden.—Faiz Ahmed's precautions.—Attack upon Quetta.—Lieut. Leech's promptitude.—Retreat of the insurgents from Quetta.—Lieut. Loveday's remark.—Shâh Nawâz Khân's measures.—His levees.—Intrigues at Kalât.—Causes of dissatisfaction.—Diplomatic blunders in Kachí.—Lieut. Loveday's invitation.—Interview with him.—Consent to remain with him during the siege.—Hâjî Osmân.—State of the defences.—Efforts to improve them.—Manning of the walls.—Disposition of the fortifications.—Preparations.—Scarcity of grain.

I MIGHT have reasonably looked for the arrival of the kâfila eight or ten days after my own, at Kalât, as, before leaving Béla, we heard of its departure from Súnmiání, and we knew that it had no object to tarry on the route. My intercourse with Lieut. Loveday had ceased, in the manner I have before described; and that I had acted discreetly, I inferred from the nature of his observations, which, from time to time, were reported to me.

While residing in the garden, I was repeatedly visited by Shâh Nawâz Khân and Mír Fatí Khân, his brother, the garden of the latter joining the one in which I was located, and every morning he came to stroll in it. Shâh Nawâz Khân never ceased to request I would call upon him in the mîrí, or palace, and converse with him, but I constantly declined, although there could have been no harm, yet I was careful to avoid giving the least cause for umbrage to Lieut. Loveday.

In course of time tidings reached Kalât, that the kâfila had been seen at Barân Lak, in a woful plight, from the failure of the camels, owing to the heat, want of water and forage, and other untoward causes. Subsequently we heard, that it had found its way to Wad; but now symptoms of discontent in the country had become manifest.

When I came to Kalât, Lieut. Loveday had with him some sixty sîpâhís, of one of the shâh's regiments. In obedience to Capt. Bean's orders, he had despatched twenty-five of them from Kalât, towards Quetta. His múnshí, Ghúlam Hússén, having business at Mastúng, accompanied them. At the moment I, of course, regarded this as an indifferent circumstance.

About this time an accident occurred, which served, perhaps, to precipitate the revolt which speedily followed. Amongst the many tyrannical acts, of which Lieut. Loveday stood accused by the general voice of the country, was that of worry-

ing people with his dogs; and to describe the horror in which he was held, on that account, would be an impossible task. Yet, so incredible did such a charge appear to me, and so revolting was it to every notion of humanity, that I felt inclined to conjecture trivial circumstances had been magnified, and an accidental mishap construed into a premeditated deed. I was frequently told, that since I had been at Kalât he had discontinued to use his dogs; and when I expressed anxiety to proceed, I was entreated to remain, that Lieut. Loveday might behave himself decently. However, any restraint he might have imposed upon himself, in consequence of my presence, did not suffice to prevent the ebullition of his passion; and a miserable and fatal testimony confirmed, beyond power of denial, how justly he was feared and disliked. Yaiya, a déhwâr or agriculturist of Kalât, employed as a begâr, or forced labourer, in some works connected with the house in progress of erection, incurred the displeasure of Lieut. Loveday, who gave the necessary signal to his dogs, and they inflicted several wounds on the wretched individual. He was carried home in a grievous state, and in a few days died. The consternation excited by this man's unhappy fate amongst the community of Kalât, to be conceived must have been witnessed; the dread of vengeance limited the expression of public feeling to low and sullen murmurs, but rumour spread the catastrophe with rapidity over

the country, and there indignation was loudly avowed, and revenge determined upon.

It became known at Kalât that the múnshí, with his party of sípáhís, had reached Mastúng, and contemporaneously that the kâfila was on the road from Wad ; but a panic, the forerunner of the outbreak which ensued, had now seized the minds of all. Lieut. Loveday was anxious about the safety of the kâfila, as a very large quantity of stores, from Bombay, belonging to him, were with it ; and he ordered a party, of the few soldiers with him, to march on the road to meet it. They were ready to have started, when the disastrous news arrived of the slaughter of the múnshí and his party, at Mastúng ; and of the revolt of the tribes of Sahárawân.

The first act of Sháh Nawâz Khân was to insist upon Lieut. Loveday, who was at the time in his tent without the town, to retire to his residence within the walls ; and thenceforth he never went beyond them.

My friend, Faiz Ahmed, immediately called on me, and gave his opinion that the affair was serious. He said his chief solicitude was for me ; and urged me, in the most earnest manner, at once to provide for my safety, either by crossing the hills into Kachí or by retiring to Bâghwân. He assured me, that he should be disgraced for ever if any misfortune befel me, his guest, or, to use his expression, that his nose would be cut off. I thought he over-

estimated the danger, and determined to remain, at least until it was known what form the insurrection would assume; for, at the time, I was not aware that Quetta was unprovided with troops, and could not but suppose the revolt would be speedily suppressed.

I may mention that, before these events transpired, there was a report at Kalât that Dárogah Gúl Máhoméd had the intention to proceed to Quetta and endeavour to negotiate with Capt. Bean in favour of the son of the late khân. Various were the opinions as to the probability of the report, and as to the dárogah's intentions; but many thought it possible, and wished it might prove true, from their desire to see the son of Mehráb provided for, and an end put to the uneasiness which his presence in Khárân kept up. It proved that the dárogah did visit Mastúg, and had a meeting at a village with some persons there, and amongst them with Díwân Rámú, the farmer of the revenue under the new order of things. What passed at this meeting I could never ascertain; the dárogah, if he ever had the intention of visiting Quetta, or of opening a communication with Capt. Bean, did neither, and returned to Khárân. In a few days followed the outbreak.

Shâh Nawâz Khân lost no time in summoning to Kalât the levies from the neighbouring villages and tribes. His mother, and Mír Fati Khân, were sent in all haste to collect those of Zehrí, while

messengers were despatched to Kamâl Khân of Bâghwân, and to other chiefs of Jhálawân.

It soon became known that the insurgents at Mastúng had called the son of Mehráb Khân to countenance their proceedings. Amidst the alarm produced by this state of affairs a part of the kâfila reached Kalât; many of the merchants thought it prudent to secrete their goods in the hills. My camels had perished on the road, from eating (I was told) the poisonous oleander shrub. I had my luggage brought to the garden in which I resided.

Some two or three days afterwards, a little past sunset, I was astonished at the discharge of large and small arms from the town, and still more when, after a brief interval, it was repeated. Before a third took place the young son of Faiz Ahmed appeared, and told me his father implored that I would instantly remove into the suburb. I had scarcely time to ask what had happened, when Faiz Ahmed himself came in the utmost trepidation. He besought me, for God's sake, to leave the garden, or I should be murdered; when I could get him to explain, he informed me that Mehráb Khân's son was said to be at Garúk, six miles distant, and that his chapow was expected during the night; that the town gates were closed, and that the discharges I had heard were part of Shâh Nawâz Khân's precautionary measures. Reflecting, that if a chapow did make its appearance,

there was little doubt that I should be murdered, I thought right to accompany him, and ordered his and my own servants to follow with the luggage. Before we left the garden a party of strangers had congregated around a fire, which they kindled at a little distance from me. They were unknown to the old woman in charge of the garden. I was surprised that Faiz Ahmed conducted me to the suburb by a circuitous path, and as he stumbled over stones, and into the pools of the narrow lanes he traversed, I could not forbear bantering him about it, and the terror he evinced, which occasioned him to complain that I was insufferably "jél," or rash; I have since learned that he had received an intimation that two of the late khân's ghúlâms, or slaves, in full confidence that the chapow would arrive, had buckled on their arms, intending to have assassinated me that evening. On reaching the suburb, he showed me into the house of Sâhibdâd, adjacent to his own. In a few minutes Faiz Ahmed, Kâlikdad, and two or three of their relatives, came and urged me immediately to leave Kalât. I was still obstinate, and doubted if Mehrâb Khân's son could be so near. Faiz Ahmed, in his anxiety, had engaged one Máhomed Aríf to conduct me to Níchâra, and had saddled my horse, but I overruled him. Completely beset by his terror, he upbraided me for my infatuation, and warned me I should repent the neglect of the opportunity. I had, however, the support of his relatives, less



timid, and, perhaps, less wise than himself, and at length he yielded. My friends sat up with me through the night, well-armed, and in much anxiety. Discharges of arms were continued until morning from the town, and Shâh Nawâz Khân was constantly on the alert, patrolling the streets and ramparts. The peril was believed to have been extreme this night, of an insurrection within and without the walls. No enemy appeared, and, in time, it was discovered that Mehrâb Khan's son had not exactly been at Garúk, but that he had skirted Nímarg and Mangachar, some eighteen miles from Kalât, to which he was desirous to have directed his steps, but that the insurgents at Mastúg insisted upon his presence there, that they might make an attempt on Quetta, nearly destitute of troops, while Kalât they considered as always in their power.

Shâh Nawâz Khân continued his precautionary measures by night, until he was certain that the intention of the enemy was turned upon Quetta. For the first time, I was now aware that so important a post had been denuded of troops, as I afterwards learned, by the orders of the envoy and minister.

Faiz Ahmed, after the first alarm was over, attended the darbâr of Shâh Nawâz Khân, when Lieut. Loveday was present. The khân asked him what had become of me amidst the confusion, and Faiz Ahmed replied, that he had taken me to his

house. The khân warmly commended him, and then asked what was my opinion on passing events. Faiz Ahmed answered, that I said the Brahúís had brought destruction upon themselves. The khân observed, it was true.

As soon as the immediate danger was over, aware that I was incommoding Sáhíbdád and his family, I proposed to return to the garden. Faiz Ahmed would by no means consent, and, in truth, as the times were troubled, it was an exposed situation. He selected, however, another garden more to his mind, and nearer the suburb, belonging to Attá Máhomed, a cultivator, which was small, and surrounded with fair walls. The owner being agreeable, I removed to it from the house of Sáhíbdád.

While in Sáhíbdád's house, Faiz Ahmed, whose sense of danger was greater than mine, had sent to Níchára for Shádi Khân, a respectable native of the village, to whom he was connected by marriage, and to whose protection he had intended to have consigned me, when wishing me to accompany Máhomed Aríf. Shádi Khân came, and I highly approved of him as a good and trusty man; but as I determined to hold on at Kalât until sheer necessity compelled my departure, he returned to his home, leaving with me his brother Ibráhím, whom I took to the garden of Attá Máhomed, to be ready in case of emergency to conduct me to Níchára, it being arranged that Shádi Khân, with as many firelocks as might be judged necessary, should escort

me through the hills to Gandâva, and thence to Shikárpúr. I was also glad to have this man in the garden by night, as the Bráhuí levies were coming in, and had spread themselves over the gardens of the place, while they were not too much to be depended upon.

The greatest anxiety prevailed as to the issue of the attack contemplated by the Mastúg insurgents upon Quetta. To the extreme astonishment of all, we heard that Quetta had been assailed, not by the Bráhuís, but by the Khâkâ tribes of the neighbouring hills to the north and north-east. It had been understood that Capt. Bean was about to employ these tribes to coerce the Marrí Baloché tribe in the hills of Kâhan, east of Kachí; wonderful was the intelligence, therefore, that he had been attacked by his quondam allies. The amazement was not less, I afterwards learned, amongst the political officers of Upper Sind, who received letters from Capt. Bean, developing his plans of annihilating the Marrís by means of the Khâkâs, and a week after other letters reached, with the tidings that he was in danger of being annihilated himself by these very Khâkâs. The mystery, however, was easy of solution. The Bráhuís wished the Khâkâs to have co-operated with them, and the latter, supposing the destruction of the small force at Quetta as pretty certain, saw no reason why they should not anticipate the attack of the former, and secure the treasure, which they

believed to be immense, to themselves. The allies of Capt. Bean accordingly made a night attack upon his position in the cantonments near Quetta, and were creditably repulsed. Urgent reports of the state of affairs were of course despatched to the political authorities in Afghânistân, and the error of the envoy and minister, in withdrawing the troops from Quetta, became too obvious. Lieut. Leech, then political agent at Kândahâr, did his best to meet the evil. Lieut. Travers, with the reinforcement received from Quetta, returned to it by forced marches, and threw himself into it, I believe, before the Bráhúí insurgents had invested it. Lieut. Leech did not stay his exertions, but calling Sâlú Khân, Atchakzai, gave him a sum of money, I heard twenty thousand rupees, and directed him to make the best of his way to Quetta, with as many horsemen as he could collect.

Before Sâlú Khân arrived it was surrounded by the insurgents. The Atchakzai chief forced his way through their host, and brought the effective aid of six hundred horsemen, some ten or twelve having been slain or captured by the Bráhúís. There can be no doubt that the promptitude of Lieut. Leech did much to preserve Quetta at this conjuncture.

The Bráhúís still pressed the investment, and prepared ladders for an escalade. Disputes arose among them as to the points which particular tribes should assail, which ended in the nocturnal retreat

of Wad Dérah, the leader of one of the most numerous bands, which, when known by the rest, created a panic and cry of betrayal, and the host broke up and retired. Assad Khân of Khârân, who, with fifty followers, had accompanied the son of Mehráb Khân, reconducted him to Mastúng, where the dárogah again set to work to reassemble the dogs of Bráhuís, for so he called them.

The news of the retreat of the insurgents from Quetta gave great satisfaction at Kalât, it being argued that, foiled there, they would scarcely march upon the capital. I had misgivings on this point, from the circumstance of their having retired unbroken; and I signified to Faiz Ahmed, that the moment we were certain they had advanced from Mastúng I was ready to start for Gandâva or Bâghwân, as might be thought best. Faiz Ahmed, at this period, saw me only at long intervals, for he was irritated that I had not followed his counsel; and when he did favour me with a call, seeing I was disposed to ridicule his notions of danger, ceased to notice it. I was hurt that my presence should be a source of solicitude to him, as he had enough of thought with his own affairs, without being encumbered by the consideration of mine. I am sorry to confess that, although I did not attach much importance to the revolt, and supposed it would be readily put down, yet I remained not so much on that account, as from the apprehension I should be laughed at if I returned to Karáchí; and

this weakness, more than anything else, influenced my stay.

During these days of alarm and consternation, Lieut. Loveday's people asked him why he did not send for me. He replied, that if he did, I might fancy that he was "mútaháj," or helpless. I did not understand by this remark that he considered his situation desperate, since it expressed only his dislike that I should consider it so, or that he stood in need of assistance. Shâh Nawâz Khân fired a salute in consequence of the retreat of the rebels from Quetta, and again another on the alleged approach of succours from Shikárpúr. These, however, were imaginary, and the salute turned out to be a stratagem. A call was also made upon the inhabitants of the town, and of the adjacent hamlets, to provide a certain number of water skins, and so completely in ignorance as to the real state of matters was the bulk of the people, that it was supposed the skins were required for the use of the khân and Lieut. Loveday, in a pursuit of the fugitive son of Mehráb Khân; whereas, they were intended to lay up a supply of water in the citadel, in expectation of a siege. So lax, however, was the khân's authority, that the call was not answered. Lieut. Loveday, moreover, ever since he had retired within the walls, had been busily engaged in strengthening his house.

The appeal of Shâh Nawâz Khân to the country had been but faintly received. Levies from the

neighbouring villages were the first to join. Mír Fatí Khân and his mother returned from Zehrí, followed by Mír Bohér, and the young son of Rashíd Khân. Kamâl Khân, Eltárz Zai, of Bâghwân, afterwards arrived, with Khân Máhoméd Khân, son of Isâ Khân of Wad. Besides these, other petty chiefs, with small quotas, attended. Still there was no want of men to hold the place, could their fidelity have been assured. Of Mír Bohír, of Zehrí, there was great distrust, and even Kamâl Khân was suspected. Shâh Nawâz strove by liberality, and the lavish distribution of khelats and gratuities, to confirm the friendly, and to gain over those of dubious disposition. The task of providing subsistence for the rabble also devolved upon him; and besides his own scanty magazine of grain, he drew upon the stores of Lieut. Loveday.

I am incompetent to unravel the plots and intrigues which at this period transpired at Kalât, but I heard that many of the Bráhuí leaders proposed to connect the interests of Shâh Nawâz Khân, and those of the son of Mehráb Khân. I know not which of the chiefs were concerned in this project, but heard that Kamâl Khân had said, that unless Lieut. Loveday was removed, he would be dragging them all about by their beards. Mír Fatí Khân was reported to have observed, that he would act in all things as his chiefs advised, but Shâh Nawâz Khân entirely set his face against the proposal, and swore that as long as he possessed life

Lieut. Loveday should be respected, and he would be faithful to his engagements with the Sirkár Company. The *khân* was universally commended on this occasion, even by those who otherwise objected to him and his rule. He also displayed some dexterity in reconciling his disaffected partisans.

The *khân* had professed a great desire to have marched to the relief of Capt. Bean at Quetta, and had pitched his tents beyond the Mastúng gate. The intrigues and disagreements amongst his chiefs of course deprived him of the opportunity of acquiring the *éclat* which such service would have ensured him. I rather think Capt. Bean was angry that Shâh Nawâz Khân did not march to his assistance, and that Lieut. Loveday had engaged that he would.

The *khân*, paralysed by poverty and faction, could not march; and here was again evidenced the want of foresight in setting up a ruler incapable of aiding his friends or of supporting himself.

No sooner had the firmness and fidelity of Shâh Nawâz Khân counteracted the plots of the chiefs, in the matter above-mentioned, than fresh causes of dissatisfaction were found by them, and, what was to be lamented, they had some reason on their side. At this critical conjuncture it became known, for the first time, that it was Shâh Nawâz Khân who had assigned over a moiety of the Súnmiání



customs to the political authorities, and that he was chargeable with the iniquity of a deed, which had before been considered as an arbitrary exercise of power by the British government, against which there was no appeal. Kamâl Khân, who is connected with the reigning family of Las, and has an interest in its affairs, was sorely indignant; and, unsparingly reviling Shâh Nawâz Khân for his part in the transaction, retired from the town and threatened to return to Bâghwân. To reconcile this chief, on whose support the khân mainly depended, Lieut. Loveday was obliged to enter into engagements, cancelling the demands upon the Súnmiání customs; and no sooner was this done than the Bâghwân chief was furnished with a fresh cause of discontent, for the news reached him that his estates at Kotrú, in Kachí, were confiscated. It is impossible to describe the infatuation that could dictate such a step at such a moment; yet it was merely consistent with the extraordinary method of administration which had been adopted in the province ever since the government had been conducted by the political authorities, in the name of the king of Kâbal. Kamâl Khân's estates had been before resumed, then restored, and now again resumed. Those of Mír Bohér had also been resumed, but were fortunately restored at the very moment when Mír Fatí Khân called upon him to attend at Kalât, or otherwise he would not have complied. Lieut.

Loveday was again obliged to pledge to Kamâl Khân the restoration of his lands at Kotrú, and once more he was pacified. To this good end I was unconsciously instrumental, as, one day, Kamâl Khân, and Khân Máhoméd of Wad, called on me, and inquired whether Lieut. Loveday's engagements were valid and binding on his superiors, whether the documents should be signed or sealed ; and, again, in what manner they should be drawn up. I replied satisfactorily to their queries, but did not trouble myself to ask what the engagements were. I questioned, however, Kamâl Khân as to the probable number of the insurgents at Mastúng, and, affirming that he knew the Bráhuís well, he said they could not exceed two thousand men, but that had the revolt commenced in Kachí, six thousand might have assembled. At Kalât vulgar report made the insurgents eleven thousand strong, and even Capt. Bean, trusting to rumour, had estimated his antagonists at Quetta to be seven thousand. Lieut. Hammersley subsequently told me that Assad Khân, of Kharân, had, on that occasion, seven hundred excellent horse, whereas he had only fifty followers and twenty-five camels, two men on each animal, and no horsemen whatever.

While never-ending causes of dissension were distracting the attention of the khân and his chiefs from the measures requisite for the defence of the place, the Dárogah Gúl Máhoméd was reassembling the tribes at Mastúng, and by a singular fatality

Capt. Bean did not follow up their retreat from Quetta, and now allowed them to reorganize their host at leisure, although he had ample force to have dispersed them, and to have closed the rebellion.

Abdúl Wáhid, one of my friends, being in the town, voluntarily called on Lieut. Loveday, who, when he took leave, gave him a note for me. It commenced by stating that he had thrice sent to me, but his people had not found where I resided; and then, in the most polite and handsome terms, invited me to call upon him. On telling those about me what was written, they at once exclaimed that he had written a falsehood, as to having sent for me. I knew as much, but regarded it as a harmless preface to his invitation. Again questioned whether I should go, I said it was too late that evening, but that in the morning I would see him. Every one dissuaded me from going, alleging that he had not treated me well. I replied, that, on that very account, I would see him, as it would never do for him to be civil and for me to be otherwise.

In the morning I sent for my horse from the suburb and rode to Lieut. Loveday's house. His reception was very different from what it had before been. He started from his seat, came to meet me with extended hands, and exclaimed mildly, "Mr. Masson! Mr. Masson!" I immediately gave him my hand, and we sat down; for now I found there were chairs in the house. A few words ex-

plained the state of things—that the town was on the eve of a siege, as the insurgents had marched from Mastúng, and that there was no hope of relief from any quarter. He requested me to remain with him, and I at once consented; willing he should see that I had generosity, however his conscience might reproach him that he had been deficient. I sent for my luggage from the suburb, and with it came a message from my friends without, warning me that I had done wrong. I was quite alive to the danger I was incurring, and should have been much more gratified had it been my fate to be associated with a person in better estimation than Lieut. Loveday; and I was also aware that, in mixing myself up with him, I was exposed to the vengeance which perchance awaited him. I should, moreover, have felt justified in rejecting his invitation, with the knowledge of the remarks he had made from time to time; but my better regulated temper permitted me to overlook them at this crisis. Above all other reasons, I thought I might be useful; and I by no means considered the defence of the place as hopeless, in spite of the difficulties which beset it. Our garrison were men of Jhálawân, our opponents of Sahárawân, between whom existed a certain degree of rivalry, and even of enmity; and on all occasions of revolt they had espoused different sides. This circumstance was in our favour; for I conceived that, with ever so little management on

our parts, the Jhálawânís would never, from a feeling of shame, surrender the town to their opponents. I knew also that the Sahárawânís were a mere rabble, and incapable of taking the town by force of arms, if the garrison merely maintained their position on the towers and ramparts; and so much might with some reason be hoped from them. Further, I was conscious that Lieut. Loveday, from the feeling with which he was regarded, did not dare to move beyond his house; a misfortune particularly grievous when activity was so urgently required, and his presence everywhere necessary in the various operations of the siege about to take place. This misfortune I was bold enough to think I might in great measure obviate, as I had no fear, and could move freely about the town and amongst the Bráhuís. Confident of my strength in this essential point, I did not despair of the issue; and, though upon it depended life or death, my career had been one of adventures and perils, and the same good fortune, I was fain to hope, might still attend me as heretofore. Yielding solely to generous feelings and motives, I became an inmate of Lieut. Loveday's house, and prepared to encounter and share with him the evils which impended.

I now, for the first time, saw Hâjí Osmân, a worthless fellow, known to me by report as the confidant of Lieut. Loveday, and the man who had discovered the hidden jewels. When I consented to remain he made the remark to Lieut. Loveday,

“Did I not tell you Masson Sáhib would come?” by which I presumed that officer had his doubts whether I should or not; and then the hâjí expressed to me his satisfaction, and declared I had avoided a great danger, as Faiz Ahmed had purposed to deliver me to Dárogah Gúl Máhomed, to be detained as hostage for Réhimdád, one of the Bakkar prisoners. I did not condescend to answer the scoundrel, but shuddered at the idea of how much evil such a man could effect, and regretted that Lieut. Loveday had no better counsellor or friend.

I naturally inquired of Lieut. Loveday what measures had been taken to repel the expected foe. It was too plain that Shâh Nawâz Khân had been either too much occupied in the management of his unruly Bráhúís, or too naturally careless to take any. Neither had Lieut. Loveday interested himself, although in this instance he had neglected the advice of Hâjí Osmân, who had recommended him personally to take charge of the defence, which certainly would have been his correct course, had not his unpopularity stood in the way. I had heard a good deal of the works with which Lieut. Loveday had strengthened his own residence; they were, however, trifling, and the place was untenable for a quarter of an hour under attack. I pointed out the sad state of the town walls, which I observed riding along them; and some of the apertures in them, by which people actually passed in and out from the town, were

closed by orders of Shâh Nawâz Khân, who, in the course of the day, came to visit Lieut. Loveday. The khân was much pleased to see me, and more so when he learned I intended to remain during the siege; and I told him that now I knew that matters were serious, *saiâldâri*, duty to my friends had brought me into the town. I questioned the khân as to the supply of ammunition at command, and found that there were as many as sixty barrels of European powder in store in the citadel, and many pigs of lead; but it had been omitted to convert any of them into bullets. I observed to him, that if he wished his men to fight he must provide them with the wherewithal to do so, and accompanying him to the citadel, saw the pigs of lead produced, and persons set to work upon them. I also at this time took a cursory view of the guns, and I was extremely sorry to find them useless; the largest, indeed, might be considered a curiosity, for it was cast at Modena in Italy, and above three centuries old. There were three of small calibre. Towards evening I made the circuit of the walls, and particularly examined the western line, having been informed there was a place where people could easily walk up and down. This I found at the point where the wall connected with the citadel, and on my return prevailed upon Lieut. Loveday to go and look at it; and so much assurance had he, in common with others, acquired by my presence, that he not only ventured to leave

his house, which, excepting a hurried visit to the Mírí, he had not done since the commencement of the outbreak, but actually accompanied me without the town to the spot. His súpáhís walked up the breach; and Shâh Nawâz Khân, being apprised of the inspection we were making, appeared on the rampart, and promised to repair it, which he did, and placed a party of men there under one of his shâhghâssís, in whom he could trust.

I forbore in any manner to allude to the remarks which Lieut. Loveday had made concerning me, but in the course of conversation this evening, the topics we discussed allowed me to state such facts and explanations as must have convinced him of the error of his notions, and how unjust and unnecessary had been his observations. When I briefly related to him my reasons for resigning the service of government, he told me he admired my feeling of independence, and bore willing testimony to the good reputation I held at Kalât; and, mentioning certain persons, said, it was astonishing how well they spoke of me. In the same casual mode I corrected the misconceptions under which, apparently, he had laboured, and, from the tone of his discourse and manner, I might have supposed he regretted he had formed them.

Next morning Shâh Nawâz Khân retired his Brá-húi levies within the town, and told them off to their respective stations on the walls. With this task I did not interfere, presuming the khân would



know best the dispositions of the chiefs and their followers, but was careful to see that the men at the citadel were constantly at work, and had some low walls and buildings near the northern gate of the town, which might serve as shelter to an enemy, levelled. I wished to have extended this operation to the buildings close to the eastern gate, but Shâh Nawâz Khân did not like to destroy a masjît, the principal of them, neither did he choose to level the walls enclosing an orchard, because his father had planted it, although I explained that there was occasion only to remove the walls, not the trees. Lieut. Loveday told me that he had before tried in vain to induce the demolition of these buildings and the orchard, for they were manifestly too close, and, what was worse, afforded the opportunity for parley between the besiegers and besieged, which it was part of our plan to prevent, if possible.

Kalât has three gates:—the northern, or Mas-tûng; the eastern, or Dil Dâr; and the southern, or Gil Kan. Adjoining the latter is a triangular outwork, called the Sanghar, entered by a gate close to that of Gil Kan. There are no krouses in the Sanghar, formed by the continuation of the western wall, along the ridge on the eastern face of which the town is built; and by another wall carried from it to the gate Gil Kan. At the apex is a large tower. The work was probably erected to protect the Bâbí suburb lying beneath it, and to remedy its occupation by an enemy. To Kamâl Khân, in

concert with Khân Máhoméd Khân, was confided the defence of the southern face, comprising that of the gate Gil Kan and the Sanghar. To Mír Bohér of Zehrí, the portion of the eastern wall extending from the position of Kamâl Khân's party, and to the young son of Rashíd Khân and his followers the remainder of the eastern front, including the gate Dil Dár. From the youth of Rashíd Khân's son, Mír Bohér was held virtually the leader of the Zehrís. On the western front, in the centre of which stands towering the Mírí, or citadel palace, the line of wall from it to the south, and terminating at the Sanghar, was assigned to the Lútíánís and Kambaráris, and the line to the north was guarded by the shâhghâssí, Khân Mahomed's party, and the people of Pandarân, Níchára, and Skalkoh, villages in the vicinity of Kalât, and by the Jetaks from the hills of Zehrí. The northern gate being under the immediate observation of Lieut. Loveday, was considered under his protection, although held by Omar Khân, Rakshâní, of Núshkí; and the wall extending from it to the west was occupied by small village levies.

By all the rules of native warfare, the gates Gil Kan and Dil Dár should have been built up; the Mastúng gate, little liable to attack, only remaining open. When I suggested they should be closed, with the view of raising obstacles to communication between those within and without, I was told it could not then be done without imputa-

tion on the valour of their defenders. Shâh Nawâz Khân, moreover, had determined to pass his nights at the gate Dil Dâr, to prevent the display of treachery. He also assumed the duty of patrolling the ramparts by night, and of exercising a general vigilance, while his brother, Mîr Fatî Khân, had especial charge of the citadel palace.

Such were the arrangements; it remained to be seen whether the garrison would defend the walls or admit the foe. Of ammunition there was plenty, but of provisions there was only a scanty supply, the stores of Shâh Nawâz Khân having already been exhausted by the levies, and he had been compelled to draw upon those of Lieut. Loveday, who still, however, had about a hundred kharwârs of grain, besides a three months' supply for his own soldiers and establishment.

## CHAPTER V.

Appearance of the enemy.—Instantaneous attack.—Assailants repulsed.—Enthusiasm of Kamâl Khân's men.—Discourse with Kamâl Khân and Khân Máhoméd.—Illiberality of Shâh Nawâz Khân and of Lieut. Loveday.—Conversation with Mír Bohér.—His scruples set at rest.—Practice with the guns.—Renewed attack.—Plans of the rebels.—Firing the suburbs.—Assad Khan's carefulness.—Expectation of an assault.—Preparations to meet it.—Assault.—Its repulse.—Gallantry of Nasrûlah and a party of sîpâhîs.—Peril of Shâh Nawâz Khân.—Surrender of the son of Jelâl Khân.—Results of the discomfiture.—Treachery of part of the garrison.—Visit to the scene of the assault.—Renewed attack.—Lieut. Loveday in danger.—Repulse of attack.—Panic in the town.—Equivocal conduct of Kamâl Khân.—Shâh Nawâz Khân dejected.—Arrival of vâkîl from the rebels.—Conference between Kamâl Khân and the rebel chieftains.—Shâh Nawâz Khân and Mír Bohér anxious to continue the defence.—Lieut. Loveday's indecision.—Arrangement of Shâh Nawâz Khân.—Evil counsels of Lieut. Loveday's advisers.—Lieut. Loveday's missions to the rebel camp.—Frustration of Shâh Nawâz Khân's endeavours to support himself.—Knavery of Lieut. Loveday's agents.—Their exultation at his credulity.—Lieut. Loveday refuses to leave Kalât.—Communications from Quetta.—Final effort of Shâh Nawâz Khân to induce Lieut. Loveday to accompany him.—Renewed missions to the rebel camp.—Terror of Mír Fatî Khân.—Shâh Nawâz Khân repairs to the rebel camp.—His abdication and solicitude for Lieut. Loveday.—Entry of the son of Mehrâb Khân into the town.—Visit of Faiz Ahmed.—Farewell visit of Shâh Nawâz Khân.—Lieut. Loveday presents nazzers to the young khân and Bîbî Ganjânî.—His fatal errors.—My counsels and conduct.—My farther stay, and causes thereof.

ON the following morning, about nine o'clock, for we had just breakfasted, the scouts of the enemy appeared on the summits of the low hills through which the road to Mastúng leads. They halted awhile, as if to ascertain whether the followers of Shâh Nawâz Khân were within or without the walls, and as their main body approached, descended into the plain, allowing their horses to graze in the fields of lucerne. Being within gun-range, a few rounds were fired upon them from the citadel. Some time elapsed before the main body arrived, when, crossing the plain, it filed round by the dry bed of a water-course into the gardens east of the town. Immediately, or as soon as the insurgents had alighted from their horses and camels, they advanced towards the walls, and one body rushing into the Bábí suburb, attacked, under its shelter, the southern face, and the gate Gil Kan; another body occupied the buildings outside the gate Dil Dár, and thence attacked it, and the eastern line of wall stretching therefrom to the south. Kamâl Khân and his party were assailed with much vivacity; the enemy's attempt on the eastern line was less determined. An incessant fire was maintained until two or three o'clock in the afternoon, when the rebels retired.

It was clear our antagonists had intended to despatch their work quickly, or, it may be, that they had expected the gates would have been opened to them.

Two or three men were slain on either side, and some wounded, a great point in Bráhuí warfare, as it authorized the hope that accommodation was out of the question, and that, as blood had been shed, the hostile parties must now fight in earnest. We had waited with anxiety the result of the first conflict, because on it so much depended, not only as it would show the mettle of our opponents, but, what was of more importance, it would test the fidelity of our friends. As the event proved, we considered the chances of holding the town as ten to one in our favour, and were justified in so doing.

The enemy, I should have observed, were not above one thousand to twelve hundred men, of all descriptions, armed and unarmed, and in the number of firelocks our garrison must have exceeded them, supposing it mustered from six hundred to seven hundred. Certainly we could have overpowered them on the plain, had it been prudent to trust our men so far; unhappily, we could not.

Shâh Nawâz Khân offered his congratulations to Lieut. Loveday, and I made a tour of the walls, encouraging and conversing with the several chiefs. The followers of Kamâl Khân received me enthusiastically, exclaiming, they were not fighting for Shâh Nawâz Khân, but for the Sirkâr Company. I assured them the Sirkâr Company would not forget them, applauded their good con-

duct, and cheered them to continue it. I found Kamâl Khân and Khân Máhomed Khân in the gateway, like their men, black with smoke and powder, and after wishing them joy of their success, discoursed for some time with them. I observed to Kamâl Khân, that our task was not a difficult one, after all, and the Sahárawânís were so few in number, that I wondered they had the confidence to present themselves. He agreed with me, expressed surprise there were not more of them, and even thought I overrated their number at one thousand. Both he and Khân Máhomed seemed to have a latent distrust that their exertions might pass unnoticed; and this notion I strenuously combated, conjuring them to believe, that their services would not merely be noticed, but recompensed. On the whole, they were in high spirits, and apparently well satisfied with the result of the day. On taking leave, I told them they had the good luck to have the merit of the defence, as the Sahárawânís had honoured their position by making it the principal point of attack, and jocularly remarked, that, as we had not been favoured with a visit, the enemy were unwilling we should get any share of the credit. Kamâl Khân gave me a commission to procure some European gunpowder from Lieut. Loveday, for priming, and made a request concerning a supply of provisions, which I promised should be attended to.

I wished Lieut. Loveday, in some mode, to have evinced his approbation on this occasion by a small largess, or by the distribution of provisions to the garrison, but he first hesitated, and finally sent parcels of dates to Kamâl Khân's party and to the Zehrís, but to no others. It was a time when a little liberality was necessary, and he well knew the men were fighting on no better subsistence than dry bread and parched grain, and against their countrymen, for a cause in which they had no interest, and even disapproved. It appeared to me that bounty would have been seasonably shown, and that no harm would have been done in proving to the men, that we thought of their wants, and appreciated their labours. Lieut. Loveday hardly thought this necessary, and Shâh Nawâz Khân affected no other opinion; and when I urged him to distribute some sheep amongst the levies, laughed, and said he would keep them to eat himself.

The care of attending the wounded men devolved upon me; and Lieut. Loveday having a quantity of medicines and ointments, I did as well as I was able with them. The wounds were, of course, gunshot; and although I was not skilful enough to extract the balls, my patients did very well, and gratefully acknowledged the inadequate attention they received. During the night a firing was again opened upon Kamâl Khân's position and that of the Zehrí levy, and continued throughout the next day and night, but no particular attempt upon the



gates, as before, was made, the rebels having determined to attempt an escalade, and were therefore busy in the preparation of ladders.

My calls upon the wounded men brought me into the company of Mír Bohér of Zehrí, who had been always a suspected man, but who, in common with Kamâl Khân, had fought with sincerity since the attack. In conversation with him, I found that he had the same misgivings as Kamâl Khân, and others, that his exertions would be little prized or regarded; and he farther complained of the precarious tenure on which he held his lands in Kachí. I assured him that he might rest perfectly satisfied on all these points; for now the course of events would press these matters on the consideration of government, and, for the future, such arrangements would be made that all irregularities and annoyances would cease. Mír Bohér was a staunch old man, and, like Kamâl Khân, had a reputation for valour; I therefore spared no trouble to convince him, that he was right in the support of Shâh Nawâz Khân, and that he might depend upon the countenance of the government. I could perceive he was pleased to be so assured, and henceforth he became very zealous in the defence of the place.

\* This day, moreover, I went to the citadel, both to see that the casting of bullets was not intermitted, and to try if anything could be done with the guns. The enemy occupied the houses of the Bábí suburb, which were nearest to Kamâl Khân's

position, and again, the houses without the Dil Dár Gate, particularly the large masjít, which Shâh Nawâz Khân had neglected to level. I wished, if possible, to compel them to retire. The artillerymen at Kalât, old servants of the late Khân, had discontinued to work the pieces, being exposed to the musketry of the sheltered insurgents. For shame's sake, they returned to them, when I stood by them, although, in truth, the shots whizzed freely about. Even Shâh Nawâz came for a moment; but I bade him go away, telling him he might not be charmed against Bráhuí shots, as I hoped I was. It was a sad pity the guns were unserviceable; they were fixed on their uncouth carriages by rolls of cord, intercepting the sight, and rendering it impossible to point them with any tolerable precision. In place of vents were apertures as large as the palm of a hand, and the chambers were so honey-combed, that it startled me to think how they could stand being fired. One of them was three centuries old, as I have noted before, and the others had not a more youthful appearance. I first tried the old one, as being the largest, and, as well as I could, pointed it to the garden in which we knew that the son of Mehráb Khân, Assad Khân of Khárân, and other principal chiefs, had taken up their quarters. After a few rounds in that direction, I had it much at heart to have knocked in the side door of the large masjít, without the gate Dil Dár, which was full of the enemy. The effect would have been

excellent; and, had the attempt succeeded, no one would have dared to venture there again. On bringing the gun to bear upon the point, the upper part of the gate only was visible above the line of rampart, and to have hit it, it was necessary that the ball should exactly clear the parapet. The distance was, indeed, trifling, but the impossibility of pointing the gun correctly perplexed me; and, I was demurring whether to fire or not, when I saw the Zehrí people forsake the walls; I then abandoned the intention, fearful of doing more harm than good, as the chance was against success; while, if a ball had struck the parapet, the men of Zehrí, not too trustworthy, might have found a pretence for withdrawal from their post. I then repaired to the other guns, but being on the same level, similar obstacles presented themselves, and I could do no more than fire random shots amongst the gardens, and, as nearly as I could, direct them towards that occupied by the khân and the *élite* of the insurgents.

I next urged upon both Lieut. Loveday and Shâh Nawâz Khân the necessity of firing the suburbs adjacent to the two exposed gates, and the measure was at length agreed upon. That near the Dil Dár gate was effectually fired, but the Bábí suburb suffered little injury from Kamâl Khân, who undertook the task.

The good consequences that would have attended an effective shot at the door in the masjít were

acknowledged by all ; and subsequently, when prisoner, I heard it frequently remarked by the rebels, that it would have ruined them. It was a singular misfortune there was not a serviceable piece of ordnance ; the valley of Kalât is entirely within range, and the insurgents, in that case, could not have stayed in it. This had been exemplified in former years, when the tribes of the country were in revolt against Mehráb Khân, and were compelled, by the fire from the citadel, to break up their encampment and disperse.

On this occasion, owing to my presence, the artillerymen were obliged to be honest, and discharge ball ; and it was afterwards known that a shot had passed close to the young khân's tent, and that another had killed the charger of Assad Khân, picketed with the khân's, which so terrified the Khârân chief, that he removed from the garden to the Bábí suburb. His subjects had implored him, when he accompanied the khân, to take care of himself, and he promised them he would, assuring them he did not intend to expose himself to Feringhí grape. The Bráhúís used to laugh at this promise, which, however, he religiously kept, and was now driven away by a round shot.

We were perfectly aware of the determination of the rebels to attempt a nocturnal escalade, but were ignorant as to the point they intended to assail. Their ladders were prepared from the timbers they found ready for them at Lieut. Love-

day's house, constructing without the town. Shâh Nawâz Khân had taken the native precaution of distributing torches along the ramparts, which when lighted, illumined the space for some distance around them. He was also, as usual, active in patrolling the place, retiring occasionally to the Dil Dâr gate, where his couch was placed. The third night after the first attack, or the fourth of the siege, we expected our assailants; the torches were kindled, and shouts of Kabadâr! take care! and Shâh Bâz! bravo! resounded throughout the town. The appearance of the place was singularly picturesque, and, had the time been favourable to such contemplation, we could not have sufficiently admired the magnificent spectacle of the effulgent lights tracing the outline of the ramparts, and encircling the turrets of the time-honoured and venerable Mîrî, or the broad lights and shades cast over the houses of the town, and the objects to a certain extent without the walls. The darkness of the night increased the grandeur of the scene, conferring an additional and impressive effect upon the illumined town, and the factitious and lurid atmosphere enveloping it.

Hour after hour passed; no alarm was given, and no foe appeared, when, between two and three o'clock in the morning, the torches burning very dimly, the fire of the garrison having for some time relaxed, the shouts of the sentinels being seldom heard, and the appearance of the town being

that of repose after some great exertion, a sudden and violent renewal of firing announced that an attack was made; and we soon discovered that the point menaced was the part of the wall on the western side held by the levies of the villages near Kalât, and the Jetaks of Zehrí, and therefore near us. The four or five Bráhúís we had in the house were instantly despatched to the several quarters of the town for intelligence, and Nasrúlah, a servant of Lieut. Loveday, and much trusted by him, returned, informing us that ladders were fixed, and implored that a party of súpáhís should be hastened to the spot. Lieut. Loveday permitted his havildar Allabaksh to select eight men; they were accompanied by two or three others, as amateurs, and conducted by Nasrúlah.

Their presence was most opportune. A party of the enemy, about forty-five or fifty, had entered the town, and their companions were being assisted over the walls by those stationed to defend them. The little band of súpáhís most admirably performed their duty; some fifteen of the rebels and their friends of the garrison were brought down on the walls, and the remainder, with the son of Jelâl Khân at their head, dropped into the town and secreted themselves, as they saw their retreat cut off. Nor was this the extent of the service done; the insurgents, persisting in the attempt to escalate, were completely baffled, and fled, leaving their ladders, and a number of dead, at the foot of the walls.

The party under the son of Jelâl Khân left their hiding-place, and fell in with Shâh Nawâz Khân and a few attendants, advancing to the perilled point. Being desperate, they attacked the khân, and slew two or three of his men. The khân himself cut down one of his opponents, but, being nearly alone, retreated to the gate Dil Dâr, with torches before him. The son of Jelâl Khân, unsupported in the town, made the best of his way to Kamâl Khân, and craved his protection. He was allowed to retain his arms, but was held a prisoner, with his men, whose arms were taken from them. It was reported that Shâhghâssí Walí Máhoméd was also in the town, and Lieut. Loveday, through Nasrúlah, offered a reward for his discovery and apprehension. The conduct of Nasrúlah on this occasion was eminently zealous and deserving. We afterwards heard that Máhoméd Khân Sherwâni, who conducted the escalade, was so surfeited with his reception, that he took the road to Mastúng, and was induced to return only by the dárogah and others, who hastened after him, praying him, in God's name, to await the morning.

Most of the men slain proved to be Langhows, residents at Mangachar. When the young khân first arrived amongst them, *en route* to Mastúng, they at once espoused his cause, and delivered to him the grain reserved as tribute for Shâh Nawâz Khân. They pretended to have serious cause of complaint, both with the khân and Lieut. Loveday,

on account of one of their chiefs, who, as they asserted, had been innocently blown from a gun, and for other reasons. Being an inferior tribe, the duty of carrying the ladders was assigned to them. It proved that the insurgents were unprovided with ammunition, and that the garrison lowered down supplies to them, while they themselves fired blank. The garrison, also, by means of their united *lunghís*, helped the assailants over the walls, the ladders being too short by nearly a third of the requisite height.

The victorious *sípáhís*, on their return to quarters, wished that a guard should be set over the slain on the ramparts until morning, in order to secure their spoils, and to prevent them being taken by the *Bráhuís*. I very much opposed this measure, from its obvious indelicacy, and hoped it would be considered enough to have killed the men. Lieut. Loveday tartly replied, that the spoils were the "*Hák*," or right of the soldiers, and a guard was sent. *Nasrúlah* was desired to accompany it, but, conscious of the impropriety, he declined.

In the grey break of day Lieut. Loveday left his house, to visit the scene of the achievement. I would rather he had stayed until broad daylight, and then have gone in company with *Sháh Nawâz Khân*, or his brother, or with some of the chiefs; and this because I thought it would be the safer course. He, for the same reason, went now with the notion he should not be recognized, which was



hardly possible, with his soldiers crowding around him. As he went, I accompanied him, and we ascended the walls, and cast a glance on the corpses strewed about, and on the broken ladders, some resting still against the walls, and some fallen on the ground. We had scarcely time to do this, when a brisk fire re-opened on the opposite side of the town in Kamâl Khân's quarter. The levies amongst whom we were, immediately loaded and lighted their matches. Lieut. Loveday as speedily descended, for his situation was perilous, his sîpáhís following and surrounding him. I had difficulty in getting down, and when I did, as the best thing for myself, and to cover Lieut. Loveday's retreat, I fronted the walls and stepped backwards, until a corner was rounded which screened us from the fire of the traitors, had they, exasperated by the loss of their comrades, opened it upon us.

Nasrúlah and our Bráhuís were sent forthwith to ascertain the meaning of this fresh attempt, and if Kamâl Khân required aid,—for our sîpáhís were in such good-humour that they were eager to go and acquire more fame, and we had found that we could detach a party without risk. Kamâl Khân was too proud to accept assistance, and, after a period of two hours, the insurgents retired. We understood that the assailants did not know that the son of Jelâl Khân had surrendered, and that they had hoped, that he and his party would have been able to open the gates from within. Kamâl

Khân pretended that the attack was most furious, and that the sanghar was once in possession of the enemy.

The nagára khâna, or band of Shâh Nawâz Khân, had, with martial melody, commemorated the repulse of the escalade, and again resounded with notes of triumph at the success of the morning. We were momentarily expecting a visit from the khân, as the occasion seemed to demand, but were disappointed; and, on inquiry after him, learned that he was fatigued, and asleep in the citadel; although he sent a supply of sweetmeats for the soldiers who had so distinguished themselves.

We were not long allowed to rejoice at the events of the past night, for the symptoms of a general panic were too plain to be mistaken. They communicated to our own people, who universally exclaimed, there was treachery, and that the guns, occasionally discharged from the citadel, were loaded with blank cartridges; judging from the reports. I was quite at a loss to account for the extraordinary and sudden change in feeling at a moment when victory had left us nothing to fear, and our enemies nothing to hope; but so it was. The sîpâhîs indeed, with a number of the assailants, had slain and wounded some of the traitors of the Jetaks and village levies, and on this account some precautionary step was necessary, but that was all; and although I saw a cause for the panic in this circumstance, I did not think it a sufficient one to create so much

alarm. From the first we were aware our men were not too trustworthy, and our house had been continually fired upon by various parties within the town, and, as we knew, in some cases, by the Zehrís under Rashíd Khân's son; the act, however, of individuals, without the order or knowledge of their chiefs. Succeeding events better explained the cause of the panic, and of its origin. I believe Kamâl Khân first, on a visit to Lieut. Loveday, informed him, that it was dangerous to continue the defence, and that it was necessary to negotiate. This was strange news. The very notion of further resistance seemed as if, by common consent, to be abandoned; the workmen at the citadel ceased their labour, and all preparations were suspended. In the evening Shâh Nawâz Khân appeared downcast and dejected. I strove to encourage him, and proposed to dismiss, armed or disarmed, the traitors of the garrison. He thought it unadvisable, and in his gloomy mood seemed reconciled to submit with composure to his fate. He represented, with Kamâl Khân, that the defence of the place was hopeless. Lieut. Loveday concurred, although I could not conjecture why. Shâh Nawâz Khân had, I suspect, not been sleeping, as he had given out, but had been painfully kept awake in expostulation and remonstrance, in supplication and reproach, with Kamâl Khân, upon whom, and upon whose fidelity, he principally confided. This man declared the place untenable; that arrangements were indis-

pensable, and all but avowed that he would fight no more; and, perhaps, went so far as to threaten that he would betray the town. A kind of mystery hung over the morning attack; and it seems the enemy, enraged at Kamâl Khân's opposition, affirmed they would send to Bâghwân, lay waste his property, and bring up his wives and children, then placing them in front of their host, advance upon the town, and compel him to surrender it, or to fire upon those dearest to him. Whether affected by this menace, or that he had previously inclined to play a double part, he wavered, and Shâh Nawâz Khân could no longer reckon on him. It may be, also, that communion with the son of Jelâl Khân did the Bâghwân chief no good. It was too evident that we had more to dread from the defection of this man than the treachery of the Jetaks and village levies.

About sunset a vakíl arrived on the part of the enemy, either in pursuance of some arrangement mutually concerted, or that, finding force ineffectual, it was deemed necessary to have recourse to fraud. I know not to whom he was commissioned, but Shâh Nawâz Khân brought him to Lieut. Loveday. I pointed out to the khân his error in receiving him, but Lieut. Loveday did not oppose it; and an elchí, on the part of Shâh Nawâz Khân, was, in return, despatched to the rebel camp. This was again a capital error; but neither the khân nor Lieut. Loveday seemed to look upon it in that

light. I never learned to whom these elchís were deputed. It was easy to predict what would be the fruit of negotiation.

On the next day it was arranged that Kamâl Khân was to meet the sirdárs of Sahárawân, and on the following one the meeting took place in a garden without the town. God knows what passed between them. We afterwards learned that the Sahárawânís joked with Kamâl Khân for having married his sister to Shâh Nawâz Khân. The Bâghwân chief observed, he had been *shétâbí*, or precipitate; and was asked, in retort, why he had been precipitate. The result of the conference was an *ekrâr námeh*, or engagement between the sirdárs of Sahárawân and Jhálawân, by which the *takht*, or sovereignty of Kalât, was vested in the son of Mehráb Khân, and the districts of Bâghwân, Zídí, and Khozdár were ceded to Shâh Nawâz Khân, who was to vacate Kalât after three days; while Lieut. Loveday was to be escorted in safety to Quetta, with his súpáhís, establishment, and property. Kamâl Khân brought a copy of the *ekrâr námeh* to Lieut. Loveday, attested by the seals of himself, on behalf of the Jhálawân sirdárs, and by those of Máhoméd Khân, Sherwâní, Malek Dínár, Mahmúd Shâhí, Ján Máhoméd, Bangúl Zai, and Máhoméd Khân, Larí, all sirdárs of Sahárawân, or so calling themselves. Kamâl Khân vindicated his proceedings on the plea of necessity, and Lieut. Loveday expressed his satis-

faction. I could not forbear expressing great indignation at the transaction, and Kamâl Khân reproached me with not understanding the matter, and represented that he wanted to gain time.

When he left I pointed out to Lieut. Loveday, as forcibly as I was able, the absurdity of the whole business, and how unlikely it was that the government would recognize the engagements of such men, at all times incompetent to make treaties, but more particularly so now, when one of the parties, the sirdars of Sahárawân, were traitors, and very probably denounced outlaws. Besides, I reminded him how carefully the principals had avoided to commit themselves, and that they might hereafter plead the treaty was not binding upon them. To all the objections I raised, Lieut. Loveday, as usual with him, made few remarks, but in consequence of the absence of the seals of the principals, he made an effort to obtain them through Kamâl Khân. They were not given, as the engagement was declared to be, and truly, one between the sirdárs of Sahárawân and Jhálawân, but the seal of Assad Khân of Khárân, was affixed to the instrument, as a further proof of its validity. This, in my opinion did not mend the matter; but Lieut. Loveday was satisfied.

In Lieut. Loveday's household and establishment were four persons, in an especial and singular degree possessing his confidence, and admitted to council,—Hâjí Osmân, Nasrúlah, Sampar, a Hindú

servant, and the Hávildár Allabaksh, the two latter in political questions being influenced by the opinions of the two former. All these men applauded the ekrár námeĥ, encouraged Lieut. Loveday in the belief that its engagements would be fulfilled, and anticipated the increased honour and fame he would secure under the accession of Mír Nassír Khân, the name conferred on the son of Mehráb Khân, Máhoméd Hassan, now that he assumed sovereignty.

No sooner had the ekrár námeĥ been concluded than free intercourse was established between the town and rebel camp, and Nasrúlah, with Lieut. Loveday's permission, went to pay his respects to Dárogah Gúl Máhoméd, his ancient master. Of course he made his peace, and in return for his pardon, which, with tears, he implored, consented to become an instrument to further the dárogah's views. On his return Nasrúlah brought the kindest assurances from the old man,—never made, or made only to deceive; but, I afterwards learned, never made.

Shâh Nawáz Khân, as soon as he had recovered from the consternation into which the treachery of Kamâl Khân had thrown him, and upon a cooler view of the transactions, in which he had implicated himself, sought to retrieve his errors, and being supported by Mír Bohér, and others, proposed to reject the ekrár námeĥ of the sirdárs, and to continue the defence of the town. Many circumstances confirmed him in this resolution. From the

communication opened between the town and rebel camp, it became known that the insurgents had neither ammunition nor provisions. Mír Bohér, Rehím Khân, Líátúní, and all the Kambaráris of the garrison inveighed against the disgrace of surrendering the place to the Sahárawânís, and it was discovered that, contrary to the reports circulated, no persons of respectability had joined the rebel standard from the neighbourhood. The khân had, moreover, received letters from Kachí, representing Saiyad Máhoméd Sheríf active in seizing Bráhuís : from which he became assured of his fidelity, before suspected, it having been surmised that the saiyad had favoured the flight of Mehráb Khân's widow, Bíbí Ganjâni, from Bâgh, when she joined the rebels at Mastúng.

Mír Bohér came several times to Lieut. Loveday alone, or with Shâh Nawâz Khân. Once, when both were visitors, I so far prevailed with that officer as to induce him to give them his hand, and to promise his support to a continued defence, but the fatal influence of Hâji Osmân, Nasrúlah, and the rest, paralyzed and defeated everything. These men made the grossest misrepresentations as to the number of the rebels, and the abundance of grain and necessaries in their camp, and were too readily credited.

Mír Bohér proposed to obviate treachery in future by a change in the disposition of the men on the ramparts. He, with Shâh Nawâz Khân, was



averse to ejecting the traitors, which I still thought the wisest measure, but did not press when a remedy was suggested. I asked Mír Bohér what had come over Kamâl Khân's mind. He replied, that he had become faint-hearted; and engaged to bring him round. The Zehrí chief spoke with real anguish to Sháh Nawáz Khân of the disgrace about to fall on them, affirming that it was "bíní búrída," or equivalent to cutting off their noses. He further bitterly lamented that Kamâl Khân had spoiled all.

I must always consider it most unfortunate that Lieut. Loveday did not at this period give his hearty support to Sháh Nawáz Khân, and the chiefs desirous of breaking up the treaty. I recommended, and had done so from the first of the siege, that a little liberality should be displayed, not as being prudent only, but what was reasonable on such an occasion. I failed to make any impression on either Lieut. Loveday or the khân. I had even suggested, when it was decided to retain within the walls the traitors discovered by the attempt at escalade, to give them the merit of a triumph, and to make a small donation to the garrison of some five rupees each, and try what effect it might produce. Subsequently, when we became prisoners to the insurgents, the Bráhuís, while indulging in invective against Mír Bohér, constantly alluded to the receipt of money by him from Lieut. Loveday. I hardly took notice of it, further than supposing their imagination had prompted the invention of a tale in unison with

their hate, until, one day at Mastúng, I asked Lieut. Loveday if he did give money to Bohér. To my surprise, he said yes, two or three thousand rupees; and then regretted that he had not taken better care to see it distributed. I had always understood that he would not give money, but never had the opportunity to ascertain whether Bohér had received the sum, or, what was quite as likely, that one of Lieut. Loveday's people had intercepted it.

Shâh Nawâz Khân, in his anxiety to secure Mír Bohér, had made an arrangement with him, in which Lieut. Loveday, I believe, had no part, nominating him sirdâr of Jhálawân, to the detriment of the young son of Rashíd Khân, a minor, and now with his followers in the town. The Zehrí levies never had a friendly feeling to Shâh Nawâz Khân; and this had been inflamed by the oppressive conduct of his brother, Mír Fatí Khân, even when he had recently been in their country soliciting their aid. The arrangement with Mír Bohér was not so secretly managed but that it transpired, and of course exasperated them in no slight degree. The consequence of the khân's carelessness was, that they sent a message inviting the Dárogah Gúl Máhoméd, on the next attack, to advance upon the gate they held, and it should be opened to him. From this nothing of evil would have happened had the defence been prolonged, as the Dárogah had not intended to accept the invitation, supposing it insidiously made. These facts were not known to

Lieut. Loveday or myself at the time. That Shâh Nawâz Khân was imprudent there can be no doubt, and his error might have done his cause great mischief.

I neglected no opportunity to impress Lieut. Loveday with a sense of the danger he must incur by putting himself in the power of the insurgents; but all arguments I could employ were set aside by the assurances of Hâjî Osmân, Nasrûlah, and Sampat. By night, pacing up and down his room, we discoursed to a late hour; and once, momentarily influenced by the efforts I made to arouse him to a course of energy and action, representing the duty he owed to government, the shame in submitting to a vanquished foe, and the reputation within his grasp, which he was about to throw away, he made a theatrical jump, and exclaimed, I will die! The resolution vanished as soon as the words expressing it had passed his lips, and the counsels of his advisers reconciled him to life.

To counteract the exertions of Shâh Nawâz Khân to get up resistance, Hâjî Osmân and Nasrûlah set on foot a variety of missions to the rebel camp. Had not the consequences been so fatal, this zeal for negotiation, and the rank and quality of the negotiators, would have been amusing. With Nasrûlah were despatched Imâm Baksh, the young drummer attached to the sîpâhîs, and Morâd Khân, a náik, or corporal. Nasrûlah privately communed with the dárogah, and the other two

elchís were admitted to a formal audience by the young khân, after which they were sent to a shâh-ghâssí, to communicate their errand. Hâjí Osmân introduced on the scene his uncle, Attá Máhoméd Khân, brother of Akhúnd Máhoméd, Sídik ; and this man, with Rais Pír Máhoméd, of Kalât, was sent privately by night on a mission to the camp. The result was, of course, gratifying, as, on the next day, Attá Máhoméd Khân marched publicly on a second mission, attended by a retinue of some forty to fifty persons he had collected. It occurred to me, that there was something very indelicate, to speak no worse of it, in the despatch of these persons to the rebels, while Shâh Nawâz Khân was yet in the town, and I must confess I was ashamed, if I may not say shocked, when I beheld Lieut. Loveday, who was wont, when the khân called upon him, to put his arm around him, in the affectionate familiarity of friendship, affecting to concur in his plans, while at the very time his agents were negotiating with the enemy the subversion of the khân's authority. I may here observe, in relation to this subject, that months after the events occurred here described, I saw, at Bombay, Captain Hamerton, then the representative of the East India Company, now also her Majesty's Consul at Maskát. I had published in India a statement of the siege of Kalât, which Captain Hamerton had seen at Maskát. He assured me that an Arab agent of the Imâm, who was present at Kalât during the siege, con-

firmed every fact, even to the circumstance of Lieut. Loveday putting his arms around Shâh Nawâz Khân, and he, like myself, witnessed it with shame, I was going to write horror.

Shâh Nawâz Khân reproached Lieut. Loveday for sending his man, Nasrûlah, to the Dârogah Gûl Máhomed; and at another time employed language so strong to Hâjî Osmân, in the presence of Lieut. Loveday and myself, that a person standing by afterwards gave his opinion, that had he received the least encouragement from Lieut. Loveday, he would have drawn his sword and have put an end at once to the hâjî and his treason.

Lieut. Loveday's envoys always returned with the same unqualified promises of kind treatment and protection; the young khân, the dârogah, Bîbí Ganjânî, and the sirdárs, were all animated by the best feelings, and the latter were determined to adhere with fidelity to their engagements. Lieut. Loveday was to do exactly as he pleased; he might go to Quetta or remain at Kalât. If he went to Quetta, the Bîbí Ganjânî was to accompany him; if he remained, a splendid residence was to be built for him, in place of the one which had been demolished by the Bráhuís. Nasrûlah, in particular, certified to the good intentions of the dârogah; and Attá Máhomed Khân, who professed to be in the confidence of the Bîbí Ganjânî, assured Lieut. Loveday of that lady's good will, and that she looked upon him as her son. The young khân had declared, as

he was tutored, to the drummer and náik, that all he wanted was, using his expression, the few sticks of the citadel, and that he had no desire for the country, which Lieut. Loveday was to govern as heretofore, and this sentiment was always inculcated by the others. So completely was the unfortunate officer deluded, that it afterwards proved he had written to Quetta, boasting of his good fortune in being adopted as the son of Bíbí Ganjâní. A letter, purporting to be from the Bíbí, was even brought by Attá Máhoméd Khân, but, instead of a seal, her name was scrawled merely within a circle. As I doubted the authenticity of the document, Attá Máhoméd Khân said the lady had given her seal to Postans Sáhib, who had promised to arrange some business for her with the government. Lieut. Loveday seemed satisfied, and to believe all that was told him; and I think he was angry with me for cautioning him, and for presuming to suggest that he might be deceived.

Yet I knew it was so; and with bitter disgust I heard Rais Pír Máhoméd, returning from one of his missions, repeat, sitting with Nasrúlah, a Persian couplet, probably impromptu, expressing that

“ The wicked man has fallen into his own snare,  
And he who devoured men with dogs, will in turn be de-  
voured by dogs.”

Lieut. Loveday was standing by me when these

words were uttered, and that he heard them too, I might suppose, from the significant look he directed to me.

Besides the envoys mentioned, there were a number of others, for the aid of no one was refused; Walí Máhoméd, a tailor, was brought from his shop, and Ghúlám and Fatí, merchants, and brothers, were despatched at various times. Even the dependents of Lieut. Loveday formed missions on their own part, but with sanction, and the hávildár, Allabaksh, sent Bútá Síng, a sípáhí, to the son of Fázil Shâh, a saiyađ, residing at the springs. The hávildár himself, with Bútá Síng, and another sípáhí, then repaired to this saiyađ, and brought him to a mäsjit, near Lieut. Loveday's house. The object was to induce him to escort the party to Quetta.

Mentioning the hávildár, it is just also to state, that he was a good man and worthy soldier, and acting with the best intentions, though misled by his faith in the honesty of Hájí Osmân and Nasrúlah. Shâh Nawâz Khân had frequently urged Lieut. Loveday to retire into the citadel, and in the debate on that question I had taken no part, as I saw no reason to abandon the town; and learned, moreover, that there was no well in it, while sixty skins were all that could be mustered to insure a supply of water. On the morning of the panic the hávildár again most urgently implored Lieut. Loveday to take up his quarters

there, and Shâh Nawâz Khân, when resolving on further resistance, had seconded his entreaties. Lieut. Loveday lent a deaf ear to what was urged, and still hoping to have prevailed upon him to support the khân and the fighting party, I did not strenuously advocate the measure, which I now regret, as any course would have been preferable to that eventually followed.

It was in vain that Shâh Nawâz Khân appealed to Lieut. Loveday by every argument in his power. No influence could induce him to suspend his communications with the rebel camp; and these being openly and publicly carried on, completely baffled the khân's endeavours to confirm the dispositions of his chiefs; yet it was humiliating to observe that while Lieut. Loveday so effectually counteracted the khân's plans, he affected still the same tenderness to him, still pretended to accede to whatever he proposed, and still encircled his waist with his arm. The third day arrived, and the Hindús of the place, with permission of Lieut. Loveday, went in a body to offer their congratulations to the young khân in the rebel camp. Shâh Nawâz Khân, with Mír Bohér, Réhim Khân, Lútíání, and some of the Kambaráris, were again with Lieut. Loveday, conjuring him to reflect, and throw no obstacles in the way of farther defence; but no reasoning could prevail against his resolve, supported by the advice of those about him. Kamâl Khân also came and vindicated his



conduct; but finding I did not agree with him, he took Lieut. Loveday aside, and secretly communed with him. He complained before me that Shâh Nawâz Khân had upbraided him with treachery, and Lieut. Loveday consoled him, and lamented the khân should have done so. I know not what passed in secret, but Kamâl Khân actually procured an order from Lieut. Loveday, making over to him the whole of his grain. Shâh Nawâz Khân coming immediately after, asked, with some reason, why, if the grain were given away, it had not been bestowed on those who wished to defend the place, instead of on those who had betrayed it. I inquired of the khân whether, as a last resource, it would not be advisable to confine Kamâl Khân, but he said no,—I presume on account of his sister. He next urged Lieut. Loveday to accompany him either to Zehrî or Bâghwân, where, as he pleased, he could retire, or renew the contest. He preferred Zehrî, being assured of Mîr Bohér; and alleged, that the Múlloh route would thus be kept open, and that Shikárpúr was near. He honestly confessed he could not undertake the responsibility of the Quetta route. Lieut. Loveday stated that he had not a sufficient number of camels; the khân offered to supply as many as he needed. Lieut. Loveday then stated, that he must abandon much of his property, and the khân told him on no account to abandon any, not so much as a mat. Lieut. Loveday then asked how the sîpáhís were

to go, and the khân replied, they should all be mounted, for of all men they were the most needed. I warmly supported the khân's recommendations, but those who had influence with Lieut. Loveday opposed it, and he was clearly incapable of acting contrary to their counsels. He seemed, however, to acquiesce when the khân was present, and a faint attempt was made to pack up, but the duty devolved on Sampat, who did it unwillingly, and it was soon abandoned.

Communications from Quetta were occasionally received, and one reached at this crisis. Capt. Bean held out no hope of assistance; and we supposed, as a matter of course, that the succours he had received from Kândahár had returned to that place, or, it might have been expected, a force would have been moved on Mastúg for our relief. Letters also came from Shikárpúr. These declared any aid from that quarter was not to be expected, for they were in danger themselves, and the Khadjíks of Síva were in arms. This unfortunate state of things had, of course, a pernicious influence in augmenting the terrors of the disaffected chiefs of the garrison, and of encouraging the enemy. Kamâl Khân was even anxious to learn whether there was any chance of relief, and a favourable report from Quetta at this crisis might have done us essential service. Lieut. Loveday revealed the truth, and this did not mend our prospects.

Sháh Nawáz Khân in course of this day made

a last effort with his chiefs by assembling them in the citadel, and administering to them an oath to stand by him, and to reject the treaty. The oath was taken by all, but Fátí Khân reported, that many of them on leaving the apartment vowed, it was not binding, as it was compulsory.

The morning came when the town was to be evacuated by Shâh Nâwaz Khân and his friends. He was early with Lieut. Loveday, entreating him even then to accompany him with his entire party, taking only his valuables, as it was too late to think of removing the bulk of the property. It was distressing to hear the trifling objections raised by Lieut. Loveday. The khân justly remarked, that his property could be replaced, but that his life and honour could not. He had once before asked him if all the Feringhís were as lághor, or unmanly as he was, and now prophesied to him all the indignities and perils to which he would expose himself by remaining.

It was not until this period that Shâh Nawâz Khân, baffled in his efforts to defend the town, and to induce Lieut. Loveday to accompany him, thought of abdication. The time was most critical. He had not deserted Lieut. Loveday, but had been deserted by him. He took the bold and even dangerous step of repairing to the rebel camp and of resigning his authority to the son of Mehráb Khân. Scarcely had he left the town for this purpose, when Nasrúlah and Hâjí Osmân, returning from the camp,

with singular impudence implored Lieut. Loveday, whose power of doing so was past, to accompany the *khân*, as there was evil in his stay. The miscreant *Hâjî* enforced his supplications with tears. *Fatî Khân* at this juncture visited Lieut. Loveday, and urged him in like manner to accompany his brother, the *khân*, and instanced that they had their mother and families to protect, and were unlikely to expose them to unnecessary peril, or to neglect due precautions. Lieut. Loveday could not be moved, but gave *Fatî Khân* a paper, setting forth that he had been solicited to leave, but had determined to remain and to negotiate for the safety of himself and his party. *Fatî Khân* went away, and shortly returned, when Lieut. Loveday took back the paper he had before given, and wrote another, in which he stated, as his motive in remaining, the determination to die at his post. The result of the interview between *Shâh Nawâz Khân* and the son of *Mehrâb Khân* was unknown, when a person came to *Fatî Khân*, still in the house, and whispered something in his ears, which exceedingly terrified him, and, falling on his knees, he crouched under Lieut. Loveday's chair. I suspected, for the instant, that *Shâh Nawâz Khân* had been made a captive, or had been worse treated, no unlikely circumstance, and asked Lieut. Loveday whether the soldiers had not better stand to their arms. He said nothing ; and I spoke again and again to him to no purpose, when I inquired if I should pass the order, and receiving

still no reply, I turned to the hávildár, who was waiting, and told him to call out the men, and to close the doors. A second messenger came to Fatí Khân, who left the house and took sanctuary at the tomb of Mehráb Khân.

While waiting in anxiety the development of events, we beheld from the ramparts the son of Mehráb Khân and Shâh Nawâz Khân moving in procession towards the town. As the cavalcade advanced, we had the mortification to witness to what a contemptible rabble the town was surrendered. Augmented with the followers of Shâh Nawâz Khân, and the persons who on such an occasion would congregate, there could not have been five hundred men. To account for this deficiency in number, we were obliged to suppose that many had dispersed after the failure of the escalade, or that, sure of their game, they had retired to Mastúng, which it appeared, although unknown to us, was now threatened from the side of Quetta.

After attending the son of Mehráb Khân to the citadel, Shâh Nawâz Khân, in the act of quitting the town, called, for the last time, on Lieut. Loveday. I was not present at their interview, having gone downstairs to see my friend Faiz Ahmed, who, with his son, had taken the earliest opportunity to visit me. The khân sent for me, but before I had time to go he stood by me. He called upon me to witness that he had done his duty to the

Sirkár Company and to Lieut. Loveday. I affirmed that, in my opinion, he had, and that I regretted the issue had been so unfortunate. He then turned and appealed to Faiz Ahmed, who spoke flatteringly to him, and, when he had left, warmly eulogized his deportment when conferring the khelat upon Mehráb Khân's son, and the solicitude he expressed on behalf of Lieut. Loveday; and, moreover, confessed that he was a genuine Ahmed Zai, and that he would have made a good hákam, had it been his fortune to have been better directed.

The walls and houses surrounding our residence were covered with the insurgents, and while speaking to Faiz Ahmed I was obliged to leave the court, or I should have been shot, under the belief that I was Lieut. Loveday. I inquired of my friend what passed at the interview between the two khâns, and he answered, that Shâh Nawâz Khân explained that Kalât had been given to him by the Sirkár Company, and not by Lieut. Loveday; that he had one friend, Lieut. Loveday, whose kind treatment he expected in return for the resignation of power. In the figurative style of the Bráhuís, he declared that Lieut. Loveday was his beard; that is, as dear to him as that appendage; and the son of Mehráb assured him that Lieut. Loveday was henceforth his own beard, and would be regarded as a brother.

The testimony of Faiz Ahmed was valuáble, both because he had been present at the meeting, and

that, like most other citizens of Kalât, he thought unfavourably of Shâh Nawâz Khân, and was unlikely, therefore, to offer evidence to his credit, unless, in truth, compelled to do it. Hâjî Os-mân, however, whose supplications had scarcely been made, and whose tears had hardly dried up, had the unparalleled audacity to tell Lieut. Loveday, that Shâh Nawâz Khân had proposed to be the first to lay hands on him, and that Kamâl Khân had spoken to the same purpose. To so infamous a scoundrel did Lieut. Loveday trust for information, and by such information were his opinions formed and his conduct determined.

The son of Mehrâb Khân, installed in the palace of his father, received during the day the congratulations and offerings of his people. Lieut. Loveday sent his *mobâarakî*, or salutation of welcome, with two nazzars, of fifty rupees each, for the young khân and Bîbí Ganjânî. Four men were appointed to attend at Lieut. Loveday's gates, avowedly to keep the turbulent Brâhûis from intruding, but also to watch over the intercourse with the house, and to take care that no one left it.

I cannot close this chapter of folly and treason without deprecating the resolution taken by Lieut. Loveday. From the commencement of the revolt he had been overpowered by a languor, which, excepting at momentary intervals, apparently incapacitated him from any effort of mind or body, and to such an extent that his Hindû servant, Sampat,

in vain strove to arouse him, by instancing my exertions, and reminding him that I should acquire the credit of the defence. From the reserve which generally clouded him, it would be impossible to conjecture the motives influencing him, but I doubt not the fatal step of his stay at Kalât was owing mainly to a desire to preserve his property, or to avoid the trouble attendant on its package, which afterwards he repeatedly alluded to with regret.

Although I could sympathise with the young son of Mehrâb Khân, and lament that his recognition, on his father's death, had not prevented the evils which now beset us, as matters stood, especially when he was made an instrument by a band of insurgents; I saw no course open to Lieut. Loveday but that of supporting the chief nominated by the government.

The fatal consequences attending Lieut. Loveday's placing himself in the power of the insurgents proclaim more forcibly than words can convey the extreme folly of the step. Inexplicable is the infatuation which induced the resolve, as there were none of the chiefs who had not, in some mode, been personally aggrieved, and for the lives of some of them even premiums had been offered; a fact spoken in sorrow, yet in truth. The singular requital I experienced subsequent to these events, and in the face of Lieut. Loveday's testimony to my "devoted and noble conduct at Kalât," will be



my apology for asserting, what otherwise would be unbecoming, that during the few busy days of the siege I was unremittingly vigilant and active, and never by night closed my eyes in sleep while it lasted. Neither did I on any occasion shrink from the dangers of our situation, although often besought to be more careful by Shâh Nawâz Khân and those of Lieut. Loveday's establishment.

I was unable to overcome the obstacles opposed to a successful resistance, yet I shall never cease to deplore that I was not called upon seven days sooner, that I might have had time to have exactly ascertained our position, and to have become familiar with the several parties composing the garrison, when I might have hoped a very different result.

Having acquitted myself of every obligation I owed to my conscience, to a sense of duty, and to Lieut. Loveday as a British officer, I by no means considered he had further claims on my presence or services, and when he declined to accompany Shâh Nawâz Khân, I informed him that I should, as I intended to do. Then, however, I found that some of the sîpâhîs had determined to follow me, averring that Lieut. Loveday was *kam âkkal*, or of little understanding, and would ruin them. I could not permit such a procedure, and it made me waver in my determination, until the incidents consequent upon the evacuation of the town by

the one party, and its occupation by the other, occurred in such rapid succession, and produced so much confusion, that the place was filled with the enemy, and I had no longer the power to depart.

## CHAPTER VI.

Continued delusion and treachery.—Distraction of Bráhuí councils.—Máhomed Sídik's appointment.—Orders from the citadel.—Communications with and from Capt. Bean.—Advance of troops to Mobâh.—Their retreat.—Hâjî Osmân's defection.—Capt. Bean's proposals.—Efforts to procure a letter to the king.—The dárogah's obstinate convictions.—Arrangements contemplated.—Their rejection.—Departure of Gafúr to Quetta.—Capt. Bean's replies.—Demands on Lieut. Loveday.—Nasrúlah's final acts of treachery.—Meditated attack.—Preliminary steps.—Attack from the citadel and surrounding houses.—Operations during the night.—Parley.—Defection of part of the súpáhís.—The dárogah's measures.—The house entered.—Transfer of Lieut. Loveday and myself to the citadel.—Incidents there.—Interview with the son of Mehráb Khân.—Apartment assigned for our confinement.—Rejoicings of the Bráhuís.—Loss of property and manuscripts.

I KNOW not what Lieut. Loveday thought of his situation, but those in his confidence vied with each other in certifying that he had nothing to fear, and brought him a number of the kindest messages, invented by themselves, from the young khân, Bíbí Ganjâní, and Dárogah Gúl Máhomed. Until the town was fairly given up, and while there existed a lingering hope that the defence would be continued, I had always expressed my opinion to Lieut. Loveday that we should get over our difficulties. He

now asked what I thought, and I confessed I knew not what to think. Sampat, observing me thoughtful, took upon himself to cheer me, and inquired why, having been so *khúsh*, or glad when there was war, I was so *dik*, or sad, now that *súlah*, or peace, was made. I replied, that I did not fear the Brahúís' war, but very much feared their peace, and was thinking what would be the end of it. Hâjí Osmân and Nasrúlah, who heretofore had passed their nights in Lieut. Loveday's house, removed with their effects. Confiding in the peace, one of the servants ventured into the bazár, and returned stripped and naked. A demand was made for the arms taken from the Brahúís on the morning after the escalade, and, being complied with, other demands were made for arms and plunder, obtained in the foray upon Núshkí. Morning and evening crowds assembled around the house, and showers of stones were hurled into it. On remonstrance, the offenders were represented to be low fellows, unworthy of notice. Lieut. Loveday much wished to see the young khân, who, it was affirmed, had an equal desire to see Lieut. Loveday, but no interview was arranged; in like manner the Bábí Gan-jâní. Nasrúlah amused his master, if he still might be considered such, with the tale of Darogáh Gúl Máhomed intending to call upon him. It would be tedious to relate all the deception and chicanery practised. Strange to say, Nasrúlah, Hâjí Osmân, and his uncle, Attá Máhomed Khân, received large

sums of money for their services, in effecting the peace, or, as I understood, for placing Lieut. Loveday in the power of his enemies. I was not made a party to these donations, but they were not so secretly made as to escape notice. They were given by Sampat, and were not less than five hundred rupees each, perhaps even Atta Máhomed received a thousand.

While Lieut. Loveday was so duped, I received a visit from Faiz Ahmed, and seriously questioned him as to the state of matters. He told me, what I could not but be certain of, that the messages brought to Lieut. Loveday were fabricated, or intended only to delude him. He assured me, that he had placed his turban before the dárogah, and had craved of him to preserve the dáman, or shirt of the young khân's garments pâk, or unstained, and to commit no violence. The dárogah had not replied, but when he related a story, current in these parts, of the generosity of Mr. Elphinstone, to one Faiz-úlâh Khân, a Báréchí, and thereby showed the advantage of meriting the favour of Feringhís, the old man remarked, that he must acknowledge that Feringhís, although his enemies, were generous. Faiz Ahmed farther said, that the dárogah had not suffered a word to escape his lips as to the course he intended to pursue, and it would require a few days to ascertain whose councils prevailed, for, in the present confusion, it was unknown whether the Bíbí Ganjâní, the dárogah, or the sirdárs of Sahá-

rawân, had the ascendancy. I requested Faiz Ahmed to apprise me if anything particular occurred. He expressed fear of Lieut. Loveday and Hâjî Osmân, but I overruled his scruples on their account, and he promised to let me know when anything transpired.

In truth, for several days after the entry of Mehrâb Khân's son into Kalât the various factions with him had too many conflicting claims to settle amongst themselves to permit them to think farther of Lieut. Loveday than to take measures to delude him, and to prevent his escape. Akhúnd Máhoméd, Sídik, the brother of Attá Máhoméd, and therefore uncle to Hâjî Osmân, had arrived at Kalât from Kachí, and his appearance promoted rather than allayed disunion in the Bráhúí councils. Dárogah Gúl Máhoméd was, or pretended to be, sick for some days, but it was arranged that the Akhúnd should take office, under the title of Vakíl of Sahárawân. He was supported by the rebel sirdárs, and producing a seal of the former Nassír Khân, suspended it on his neck, and commenced the duties of his appointment by announcing that he should adopt many vigorous measures, amongst them the closing of the Múlloh and Bolan passes.

The activity I had shown in the defence of the place, and the known desire I had to continue it, caused me to be very unfavourably looked upon by the new occupants of the citadel, and intercourse with me had been specially prohibited to persons

of the place, with the exception of Faiz Ahmed, who, on the strength of ancient acquaintance with the dárogah, was excepted. Soon after Akhúnd Máhoméd Sídik's arrival, Khâdardád, one of the four guards, addressed my servant: "Brother, you and I are Mússúlmâns: your sâhíb is a good sâhíb; tell him not to come down stairs." In explanation Khâdardád imparted the secret that orders had been issued from *bállá* to shoot me if I came down stairs. Bállá, or above, of course meant the citadel; but Khâdardád would not communicate who had given the orders, and in the citadel there were many to give them: neither did I ever learn, although I suspected the Akhúnd.

In course of time it was proposed that Lieut. Loveday should write to Capt. Bean, and it was insisted that he should write in Persian. Lieut. Loveday consented to write in Persian. I objected, on the ground that the letter would be considered compulsory. Faiz Ahmed chancing to call, undertook to represent the impropriety to the dárogah, and the consequence was that Lieut. Loveday was permitted to write in English.

I have previously noted, that Capt. Bean's letters, received during the siege, positively stated the impossibility of affording us relief, and that they had an evil influence on the determination of those to whom we looked to hold the town. We were excessively surprised, immediately after that unlucky event, to receive accounts of an advance upon

Mastúg of a large force, some fifteen or sixteen hundred men, cavalry and infantry, with horse-artillery guns. Lieut. Hammersley, the assistant to Capt. Bean, accompanied this force, which at Mobâh came by surprise upon some two hundred Bráhuís, and cut many of them up. The troops then encamped near the adjacent village of Feringabád, and received the submission of the inhabitants of Mastúg. The design was to have replenished the commissariat at Mastúg, and then to have marched upon Kalât. By the fatality which accompanied whatever was done, Lieut. Loveday's letters to Capt. Bean were brought into camp, and being opened by Lieut. Hammersley, he retrograded to Quetta, as the occupation of Kalât by the rebels was announced, as well as the tidings that *peace* was concluded.

If Capt. Bean had apprised Lieut. Loveday that this demonstration would be made, it is not too much to assert that Kalât would have been preserved, but Capt. Bean was a remarkably prudent man, and until strong reinforcements reached him from Kândahár, he did not venture to think of detaching the force. It was large enough to have traversed Balochistân at that time, and Salú Khân, with his six hundred horsemen, formed part of it.

Now that a correspondence was permitted with Capt. Bean, Hâjî Osmân conceived the notion of officiating as envoy, and brought Lieut. Loveday a



forged letter from Bíbí Ganjání, appointing him the medium of intercourse between Lieut. Loveday and herself, and describing him as the fittest person to be employed on a mission to Quetta. Lieut. Loveday prepared his letters for Capt. Bean, and urged the Hâjí to depart with them, when he discovered that the Bráhuís would kill him on the road. None of the Bráhuí principals were aware of the Hâjí's proceedings, until he could no longer conceal them, and the discovery excited so much indignation that the weak man, terrified perhaps more than was necessary, sought refuge in the house of a pír, or holy man, in the Bábí suburb, feigned madness, and ultimately departed with his protector for Kândahár. In his pretended insanity, he did not omit to reveal Lieut. Loveday's secrets, by way of atonement, although I never heard what they were.

In reply to Lieut. Loveday's letters, an official announcement arrived from Capt. Bean, expressing his readiness to receive an envoy from the Bráhuís, and his intention to recommend that the son of Mehráb Khân should be acknowledged; but that it was essential that a letter of submissive allegiance should be addressed to Shâh Sújâh al Múlk. This was the course we had recommended without success, the Bráhuís unanimously complaining that the shâh had behaved ill to Mehráb Khân and to themselves, while he was in fact no shâh, but the mockery of a shâh. To the lord sâhib, as the

envoy and minister at Kâbal was called, they were willing to write in the humblest style, as he in reality was the shâh.

Lieut. Loveday having lost Hâjî Osmân, and beginning to suspect that Nasrûlah had made his peace with the dárogah, was at a loss how to prevail upon the Bráhuís to write a letter to the shâh, and thought of Faiz Ahmed, and with my approval he sent a Bráhuí lad, Sâlú, in his service, for him.

When Faiz Ahmed came, I had some conversation with him, and pointed out, with reference to Capt. Bean's letter, that the abdication of Shâh Nawâz Khân, however brought about, had opened a chance of settlement, which, if neglected, must be followed by ruin to all in a few days sooner or later. As nothing could be done without a letter to the shâh, and as Lieut. Loveday was anxious to procure it, if he could get it by his influence with the dárogah, the Bíbí, and others, he would be doing a service to all parties. Faiz Ahmed urged that he feared Lieut. Loveday, and might involve himself in trouble. I assured him there was no occasion to fear Lieut. Loveday, that I was myself present, and the moment I saw there was the possibility of his being committed with us I would warn him to desist.

I then introduced him to Lieut. Loveday, and, encouraged by that officer's assurances, Faiz Ahmed engaged to do his best to procure the consent of the chiefs that a letter should be addressed in the name

of the young khân to the shâh, and that an envoy should be sent to Quetta, as suggested by Capt. Bean.

Faiz Ahmed had difficulty in overcoming the obstinacy and convictions of the dárogah. He placed his turban on the ground before him, and assured him that if an endeavour was not made to come to an arrangement, or if the Bráhuís made another attempt on Quetta (as they were talking of), he, and one half of the Bábís, had determined to remove from Kalât, with their families and property. The perverse old man, in yielding observed, that he was still incredulous as to any good result; it might be, he said, that misfortune and suffering had affected his understanding, and that Faiz Ahmed's view of things was more correct than his own, but he doubted it. Nearly similar repugnance was shown by the turbulent sirdárs; but the dárogah and Bíbí having been gained over to think of peace, they also acceded, and it became for the moment agreed, that a letter should be written to the shâh, and that an envoy should be despatched to Quetta.

A múnshí, Akhúnd Músa, was brought to Lieut. Loveday, that the letters should be prepared under his instructions. The letter to the shâh I thought unexceptionable, but that addressed to Capt. Bean, although suggested by Lieut. Loveday, contained demands, and declared expectations, in my opinion, which had better been omitted. The envoy selected for the mission was one Réhimdád, a respectable

man, and about as good a one as could have been fixed upon.

Faiz Ahmed availed himself of this opportunity to attempt my enlargement, yet he did not intimate the course he was pursuing until he apprised me that the dárogah and the rest had consented that I should accompany Réhimdád to Quetta. He assured me nothing was expected from me but my good offices, if able to employ them, but that before I went I must see the dárogah and chiefs, and give my hand as a pledge that, in return for liberty, if I could do no good, I would do them no kallal, or injury. Faiz Ahmed now revealed, that from the commencement he had incessantly endeavoured, by every means in his power, to procure my release, but the part I had taken in the defence was constantly urged against me; that when inclined to accede, the Bráhuís feared the evil I might do them. He also affirmed that, but for the hope of effecting that object, he would not have interested himself in the pending affair.

I was too well aware of the fickle dispositions of the Bráhuís, to place much reliance on their consent to my departure. The letter to the shâh, however, was, after some delay, sealed, but the objection was started that Réhimdád would be detained at Quetta. Another envoy, in the person of Gafúr, a writer, in the employ of Díwân Rámú, was proposed in his stead, it being asserted that Gafúr was of little consequence, and that his deten-

tion was unimportant. This Díwân Rámú, it may be noted, had been the farmer of the revenues of Mastúng under Capt. Bean, and had fled to Kalát, on the advance of Lieut. Hammersley to Mobáh. Gafúr was now to start, and Faiz Ahmed warned me to be ready to see the sirdárs, and went his way, but in a few minutes returned in great alarm, stating that a violent discussion had taken place; that the letter to the shâh had been torn to pieces, and that I should not be suffered to go to Quetta, where, the rebel chiefs asserted, I was required to repair a gun. Gafúr might still proceed if Lieut. Loveday wished, but alone. Lieut. Loveday's letters to Capt. Bean were returned to him, and he was directed to erase my name, with his own hand. This he did, and I made no remark, but strongly pressed the evil of omitting the letter to the shâh, but to no purpose. In the evening Gafúr departed.

In the course of these transactions a number of diplomatic notes passed between Lieut. Loveday and Akhúnd Máhoméd Sídik. In one of them Lieut. Loveday wrote, that the restitution of Quetta would be mûskil, or difficult; the Akhúnd replied, that if the restitution of Quetta were mûskil, that of Kachí would be mûskilter, or more difficult.

I doubt not that the Akhúnd instigated the opposition which led to the rejection of the shâh's letter, and the refusal to comply with the forms officially pointed out by Capt. Bean as essential to accommodation. As regarded my departure, it

was almost too much to be expected. The people in Lieut. Loveday's confidence were averse to it, and represented to him, that I should impede a settlement when at Quetta,—on account of my warlike propensities. Sampat got up on the occasion an intrigue of his own, in concert with Hídú, one of our guard, who carried two or three messages to Bíbí Ganjání, until he was rebuked by that lady.

The presence of Díwân Rámú led to a demand upon Lieut. Loveday for money, which was met by authorising the Hindú traders to contribute five thousand rupees, in part of the sum advanced to them by government. An amount of seven hundred and fifty rupees had been taken in some other mode by Rámú.

Tidings of the fruitless mission of Gafúr preceded his return to Kalât. When he came he had little to say, and a note from Capt. Bean explained, that he was in such haste to leave Quetta that there was no time to converse with him.

I had constantly urged Lieut. Loveday to represent to Capt. Bean the necessity of moving a force upon Kalât, without reference to any notion of peace;—however, he may have done this inadequately, owing to the delusion under which he laboured; Capt. Bean now observed that it was impossible, as the Brá-húís were assembled along the entire route, and that he should have to fight every inch of his way. Cheerless as this announcement was, it was no less disgusting, as we well knew the route was quite open

and clear of Bráhuís, however, the intelligence upon which Capt. Bean trusted had deceived him. It was yet consolatory to learn that Capt Bean considered himself secure, and that, strong in the number of troops around him, he was even elate, and defied the Bráhuís to pay him a visit at Quetta.

Soon after Gafúr's return from Quetta, Réhimdád, the first selected envoy, attended, with Rámú, upon Lieut. Loveday, to demand a further advance of money. I was not present at the interview, which passed in Lieut. Loveday's sleeping-room. The money was refused, and Réhimdád, on his return to the citadel, reported that Lieut. Loveday, in reply to the question as to what the Bráhuís were to eat, had answered, they might eat stones.

Since the return of Gafúr the angry feelings of the insurgent chiefs had been strongly evinced, and probably they now determined to resort to acts of violence, which all along had been wished by many, who were restrained with difficulty. An attack upon our house was possibly now only delayed from a lurking distrust as to the success which might attend it, from the disunion of the principals as to the mode of conducting it, and as to the division of the spoil.

The sinister intentions of the chiefs had been intimated to us, and an effort was made by Lieut. Loveday and his confidants to put off the evil day, by presents, and holding out new expectations. For this purpose a sword-blade, the hilt studded

with emeralds and pearls, was sent to the young khân by Nasrúlah. The blade was said by Lieut. Loveday to have been taken from a soldier at the capture of Kalât, and was recognized by the young khân as one which had been presented to him by his late father on the day of his circumcision.

Nasrúlah came daily once or twice to Lieut. Loveday, communed privately with him, repeated what he had learned, and carried back to the dárogah all he heard in confidence. Lieut. Loveday did not yet withhold faith in him, and so thoroughly was the error of the master shared in by those about him, that Sampat was accustomed to say, if all others betrayed them, Nasrúlah would adhere through good and evil. Latterly this man began to beg, getting as much as he could before the day of general spoil. Sometimes he requested in his own name, sometimes in that of the dárogah, always amusing Lieut. Loveday with the expectation of an interview with the old man, who hitherto, he said, had been deterred by the apprehension that witchcraft might be practised upon him. One day Nasrúlah, informing Lieut. Loveday that a trustworthy merchant was about to go to Quetta, suggested the opportunity as a good one for sending his money to Capt. Bean. Lieut. Loveday, in this instance, asked my opinion; and I told him, if he wished to give Nasrúlah his money, the opportunity was certainly a good one, for it was ridiculous to suppose it would be taken to Quetta. On



the following morning, in another private conference, Lieut. Loveday refusing to give his money, wrote, at the request of Nasrúlah, a note to Capt. Bean, recommending that four hundred horse should be despatched by a circuitous route to Kalât, as the Mastúng gate being at command, the party could be introduced, and the town, with the young khân, taken. When Nasrúlah left, Lieut. Loveday told me what he had just done ; it was useless to expostulate with a man who could so commit himself. The note, in course, was carried to the dárogah, and served to allay any scruples of conscience the meditated assault on our house might have raised in his bosom ; and in all probability for that very purpose Nasrúlah had been commissioned to procure it, as the dárogah made the fact one of his many charges against Lieut. Loveday.

Showers of stones had been continually poured upon the house since the occupation of the town. Such missiles were now yet more abundantly employed, and as matters progressed a few musket-shots were fired from the citadel, as was explained, merely in sport, and directed at a tower of the town walls, forming also the angle of our premises. The next evening these shots were repeated, and on the following morning we learned that a serious attack would be made in the evening. Messages were brought to Lieut. Loveday, desiring him to repair to the citadel, and there make his salám, or obedience, to the khân ; but no fit person was de-

puted to conduct him, and it was impossible that he could pass harmlessly through the infuriated Bráhuís, setting aside the almost certainty that he was sent for to be secured. Nasrúlah, who the day before had obtained Lieut. Loveday's cows, on pretence of sending them for fuel, was not to be found when sent for; all the Bráhuí servants, horse and camel-keepers, had disappeared, and the guards at the gate had gone, taking their effects with them, excepting Khâdardád, who did not appear to be in the secret.

Two guns on the ramparts of the citadel had been pointed towards our house, and Bíbí Ganjâní, feigning to be averse to violence, had left the town for one of the adjacent villages. A little before sunset a smart fire of musketry was opened from the citadel, but without effect, as we were well sheltered, and no return was made to it, the rather, as in two or three minutes the sun would go down, and we were not certain that it would continue. Some of the Bráhuís and others crept, however, into the houses near, and overlooking us. From one of these, belonging to a Hindú, Tékh Chand, three of our sípáhís were shot, when Lieut. Loveday gave the word to return the fire. In an instant the heads seen over the battlements of the citadel vanished, and the fire on the house from that quarter and from the surrounding houses ceased. Nothing more occurred until about midnight, when a party with torches and pickaxes made a hole through the outer

wall of the court, where Lieut. Loveday's horses were picketed, the object being, possibly, to carry them off. We had heard that part of the Bráhuí plan was, by means of combustibles, to burn our house; and therefore our men re-opened fire. Presently it was announced that a responsible person had appeared on the part of Bíbí Ganjâní, requesting that the firing might cease, as a party had been sent to occupy the Mastúng gate, and to take care that no one should be suffered to enter the premises. The hole was made in readiness for future operations.

During the night one of the sípáhís lowered himself from the walls, and went off,—I believe he was never heard of again,—and in the morning many others, finding the affair drew near a close, followed the example, first throwing over their effects, and then following them. When, at length, Lieut. Loveday called the sípáhís up-stairs, not one half of them were present. It was told us that the dárogah and Akhúnd Máhomed Sídik were sitting at the entrance to the citadel, while the town was being cleared of the Bráhuís, that Lieut. Loveday might pass uninterrupted through the streets to make his salám. It seems the dárogah, having, as he thought, cleared the place, (although many of the Bráhuís had secreted themselves,) proceeded to close the town gates, that none of us should escape, as well as that none of the spoil should slip him. This measure brought

him near us at the time the better part of the sîpâhîs left the house. He collected them, and placed them somewhere or other, and returned, but not in time to prevent the house from being filled on every side. The stables and Lieut. Loveday's apartments were taken possession of by the followers of Akhúnd Máhoméd Sídik, and of Shâhghâssí Walí Máhoméd, who entered by the aperture made in the night; the apartments of the servants and sîpâhîs were penetrated by a horde of Bráhúís, who had scrambled over the walls. We were now in a somewhat delicate position, but that the Bráhúís fell to plunder, and were so intent upon it that they hardly seemed to notice us. The men of the Akhúnd and Shâhghâssí sat quietly on the boxes, chests, &c., which they now accounted their own, and made no attempt to interfere with us. I had the satisfaction to witness one of the Akhúnd's men assume my property; I knew the fellow quite well, as he had been in the service of Shâh Nawâz Khân, and was named Shakúr. When we descended into the outer court with the ten or twelve sîpâhîs remaining, the scene was ridiculous, the Bráhúís being occupied in breaking open the boxes and ammunition-chests found in one of the ground-floor chambers, and in the highest glee chasing the fowls, now let loose. The gateway opening to the town had been locked, and a little delay took place until the key was found. The dárogah and his party preceded us, as we

passed through empty streets, amid the revilings of women from the houses, towards the citadel. At the entrance thereto the súpáhís were led off to the right, where one of the guns was stationed. They were despoiled of their arms, and Lieut. Loveday, with myself, was conducted into the citadel. After we had passed up the dark and ascending passages leading to the suite of apartments, and darbár room, some thirty or thirty-five of the principal men brandished their swords. A Langhow chief, Máhá Singh, recognised me at this juncture, and placed his arms around me. I suspected this to have been merely a feint, but since learned that it was not altogether so, and that a combat had nearly ensued between those eager for violence and those anxious to prevent it. The dárogah now appeared, and placing his arms around me, who happened to be first, led me through the infuriated crowd into the Ahíná Khâna, as called, (the darbár room,) and returned for Lieut. Loveday, whose situation was critical, and bringing him in, the doors were closed, some half dozen individuals only being within the apartment. The dárogah reproached Lieut. Loveday with the death of Meh-ráb Khân, and with other injuries; but assured him that, as he had entered that house, he was safe. His passion did not allow him to speak much, and he left the room; in a few minutes he returned, saying the khân wished to see us, and directed us to be searched, lest we carried pistols.

One Yúsef Khân, Raisání, searched Lieut. Loveday, and took his pocket-book, in which were two or three documents, amongst them the copy of the ekrár námeb, or engagement entered into by the sirdárs; and this Yúsef Khân would not return. I was searched by two or three persons, and my lúnghí, bordered with golden tissue, was taken from my head. We were then conducted to an apartment where the young son of Mehráb Khân was sitting with Akhúnd Máhoméd Sídik, the sirdárs of Sahárawân, and others. In passing we had to encounter volleys of abuse and menaces. The dárogah took charge of Lieut. Loveday, and Máhá Singh rendered me the good office. This was the first time we had seen the young khân, and were both surprised to find him a youth of so respectable an appearance. He welcomed Lieut. Loveday with "Khúsh amadéd," and addressed me in the same terms; then desired both of us to be easy on all points, and assured us we had nothing to apprehend. The several sirdárs omitted no formality, and each of them respectively bade us welcome. Máhoméd Sídik made a brief oration, setting forth that, as Lieut. Loveday would neither advance money nor come to the citadel and make his salám, they had been compelled to adopt the only course left to them. It became a question as to where we should be lodged: the young khân pointed out some place, but the dárogah said no, and directed us to be taken to a suite of two apart-

ments still higher up in the building, where bricklayers were sent, in haste, to close all apertures, and we were located therein, under charge of one Molahdád, an acquaintance of Lieut. Loveday's, as he had for some time been náib at Quetta under Mehráb Khân. As soon as we were secured guns were discharged, and music at the Nágára Khâna struck up, as if a victory, or important advantage had been gained.

On this miserable termination of Lieut. Loveday's peace, I suffered the loss, not only of what other property I possessed, but of a large accumulated stock of manuscripts and papers, the fruits of above fifteen years' labour and inquiry. But, three or four days previously to the attack, my servant, who had become familiar with one of the keepers, Khâdardád, before mentioned, proposed to remove the chest containing them from the house, assuring me he could do so with Khâdardád's connivance. Fearful to show a bad example, and to discourage the sípáhís, I spoke angrily to him, and threatened, if he dared to mention such a thing again I would punish him. He reminded me that the worst was to be expected, and that Lieut. Loveday, by burning his papers, was clearly preparing for it. I only repeated the menace to him. I need not have been so scrupulous, for I since discovered that not only had the sípáhís for some days been transferring their effects to houses in the town, but that, strange to say, Lieut. Loveday had been dis-

posing of various articles at low prices, particularly all his copper utensils ; perhaps, on account of their being, in common with much of his property, the spoil of Mehráb Khân, and bearing his marks on them.



## CHAPTER VII.

Chamber of Blood.—Nature of our custody.—Insults of Bráhuís.  
 —Sháhghássí Walí Máhomed.—Treatment.—Lieut. Loveday's attendants.—The dárogah's disappointment.—Interview with Dárogah.—His proposition.—Lieut. Loveday's stipulation.—The dárogah's anger.—The dárogah's intention.—Abstraction of Sampat.—His return.—Suspensions as to treasure and jewels.—Lieut. Loveday's danger.—Averted by Faiz Ahmed.—Interview between Lieut. Loveday and the dárogah.—Letters written for Capt. Bean.—Intended advance of Bráhuís from Kalât to Mastúg.—My release refused on account of Lieut. Loveday's sayings.—Arrival of letter and messenger from Réhim Khán.—Regret of messenger.—Arrival of Mír Azem Khán at Kalât.

DURING our abode in the house from which we had just been transferred, I had reconciled my mind to the belief that our lives and occupation of it would cease together. I had been mistaken, and we were reserved for further scenes and perils. The apartment which now confined us was called the Chamber of Blood, and deservedly, as being that where state-offenders were usually put to death. The last slaughter of this kind committed within its walls was, I believe, that of the late khán's Ghiljí minister, Dáoud Máhomed. Its appellation, and the uses to which it had been

devoted, were calculated to suggest but gloomy anticipations for the future; yet, dispelling associations so cheerless, it was spacious, and commanded a fine view of the valley in front, and of the encircling hills of Arbúi.

Molahdád, appointed our keeper, with eight or ten men, was located with us, and every night an additional guard was provided. These men, with their incessant clamours, were very annoying; but we were further mortified by visits from crowds of all classes, who came both to gratify their curiosity and to indulge in the expression of their triumph and resentment. Nothing could be more galling than to be compelled to hear the offensive language employed by most of them; and the bad feelings of many were so excited, that it often required the interference of our keeper and his party to prevent our being ill-treated by them. Molahdád was, perhaps, as good a man as we could have had in charge over us, since he was not so strict as to forbid any slight indulgence, or even intercourse, being enjoyed by us; yet his mildness and indifference were inadequate either to hinder the visits or to check the insolence of the crowds which daily pestered us. Probably he was instructed to permit everything short of actual violence, and I observed, or thought so, that he took secret pleasure in the taunts, menaces, and ribaldry with which we were assailed.

On the first day of our confinement, Shâhghâssí

Walí Máhomed sat with us until evening. He was brother to the late Núr Máhomed, shâhghâssí of Mehráb Khân, and one of his most effective adherents. Núr Máhomed was slain at the capture of Kalât, while gallantly fighting, after having previously sacrificed his wives, and other females of his family. Walí Máhomed alluded to the disasters which had fallen upon his house, but assured Lieut. Loveday that he should be kindly treated, and should experience what generosity a Baloch was capable of. I suspect Walí Máhomed was not permitted by the dárogah to act as handsomely as he wished.

We were inundated with tales of the plunder of Lieut. Loveday's house, and, indeed, during the day witnessed the many conflicts that took place on its roof between the spoilers themselves. It seemed to be considered by the multitude rather as a good joke than an atrocious act. Two or three persons killed themselves by drinking vitriol instead of wine; and this accident brought bottles and their contents into such distrust that numbers were made over to us. So great a store had we of both wines, and liquors of various descriptions, that Lieut. Loveday consigned them to the charge of Díwân Rámú, who had, on his own part, contributed a teapot, jug, and other articles of plated ware, which were not much prized after it was discovered they were not silver. He also provided Lieut. Loveday with a few articles of his own

clothing, and the young khân sent him a chair and his postín; the latter, however, deprived of a number of jewels which had been sewn over it, the youth asserting they belonged to him, and not to Lieut. Loveday. Walí Máhomed had promised a bed to Lieut. Loveday, but it was not sent; and neither he nor I had anything to sleep upon but the coarse carpet spread under us. Our food was supplied twice daily from the khân's kitchen, and was the same he himself partook of. Tea and coffee were furnished by those who had rifled our late abode; so that, on the whole, our fare was what we had least to complain of.

Lieut. Loveday's house was most rigidly examined, the floors were all dug up, excavations were made in the cellars, and the wells were minutely searched. The pair of bull-dogs, the ministers of his anger, were literally cut to pieces.

Attending on Lieut. Loveday, were Sampat and Naihâl Khân, an old Máhomedan servant and cook; the latter accompanied his master to the citadel, and was severely beaten and robbed on the road; the former joined in the course of the day. One of my servants followed me into the citadel, but retired when he saw swords drawn upon us, concluding all was over. He then went to Faiz Ahmed's house, where my other servants had gone before him. The latter soon set out for Kândahár; the former remained, determined to abide the result of events, and ultimately rejoined me at Quetta.

The súpáhís were deprived of their arms, and plundered; the súbahdár, or native officer, an infirm old man; the havildár, Allabaksh; Búta Singh, a súpáhí, and one or two others, were sorely maltreated. All were put on an allowance of flour. Some managed to preserve their regimental dresses, others were wholly despoiled; but all were supplied by the young khân with shirts and trousers.

We were soon apprised that the dárogah repented of the plunder of Lieut. Loveday's house, his share of the spoil being nothing at all, while he had to incur the odium abroad attendant upon so disgraceful an act, and to support the ridicule at home, of having been foiled. Akhúnd Máhoméd Sídik and Shâhghâssí Walí Máhoméd having so largely benefited by the measure, alike increased his disappointment. The dárogah's plan was to have secured Lieut. Loveday in an interview at the citadel, and then to have taken possession of the house and property in the young khân's name, when he would have obtained some document from that officer, in his power, to have justified, according to his ideas, the appropriation. No doubt the sirdárs of Sahárawân, and their vakíl the Akhúnd, precipitated, if they did not wholly bring about this affair, although it is nearly as certain that it must, sooner or later, have happened. There were too many desirous of such a finale, whether urged by hopes of plunder or by feelings of revenge, and the most extravagant expectations were formed of

the wealth to be found, to say nothing of the necessities of unscrupulous men. Report gave out, that twenty-three lakhs of rupees were in charge of Lieut. Loveday; chests of ammunition were supposed to contain treasures and it was believed that a large stock of Mehráb Khân's jewels, and other property, was deposited in the house.

After a lapse of four or five days, it being Roz Júma, and the citadel clear of its usual occupants, who had attended the young khân on an excursion to the tomb of his father, a man came and said the dárogah wished to see me. I was led down stairs to the Ahíná Khâna, where he was sitting with Faiz Ahmed, and an old woman, a slave probably, who retired. The old man prefaced his discourse by the declaration that he never saw a Feringhí, or even thought of one, that blood was not ready to gush from his eyes, by reason of the wrongs and injuries he had endured. He dwelt much upon them, some concerning the late Mehráb Khân, some concerning particularly himself. He told how Sikandar (Sir Alexander Burnes), in that very room had sworn by Házrat Isâ, or holy Jesus, that no designs were entertained upon the country; he enlarged upon the services Mehráb Khân had rendered to the army on its march, and of its requital, and expressed his horror that the corpse of his late master had been exposed in a masjít, unhonoured and unburied: in like manner, he pointed to a hole in the apartment, made by a cannon-ball at the time of the

assault. He next commented on Lieut. Loveday's attempts to surprise the young khân, and on the offers of reward he had held out to those who would assassinate himself; affirming, that Nasrûlah had disclosed all, and declaring that the man had always been in his service, although allowed to remain with Lieut. Loveday, for the purpose of gaining a knowledge of his plans and movements. Observing that the past could not be recalled, and that he was willing to forget it, while he wished peace rather than war, he explained his object in sending for me, by desiring me to tell Lieut. Loveday, that he purposed to go to Mastûng in two or three days, and would take him; that he wished an interview with Capt. Bean, a certain number of men attending with each. I was instructed to inquire of Lieut. Loveday whether or not he still wished for peace, and to let him know the reply. Moreover; I was told to represent the mischief it was in his (the dárogah's) power to cause, the interruption to communications, and other evils, all of which might be prevented by peace.

In the course of this conversation, as opportunity permitted, I urged upon the dárogah, that I feared he had not well understood that Capt. Bean, judging from his letters, had pacific intentions, and appealed to him how awkwardly they were responded to by the unfortunate business of plundering Lieut. Loveday's house. He seemed to include it in the catalogue of things past—to be forgotten. I also

explained to him, how earnestly Lieut. Loveday had written in recommendation of peace, and assured him that if it were not granted, it would not be on account of any deficiency in his exertions. I even asserted that Lieut. Loveday had written much more in favour of them, and of an arrangement, than I should have done in his situation, how much soever I desired for all our sakes so fortunate a result; and this I implored him to believe.

The dárogah asked my opinions as to the probability that an arrangement could be made, and I frankly gave them, stating as a reason the favourable tendency of Capt. Bean's letters, previous to the plunder of the house; how that action might alter circumstances I could not tell. I was dismissed to talk with Lieut. Loveday, and to return with his answer.

This was the first time I had conversed with Dárogah Gúl Máhommed, a tall, spare, aged, and harsh-featured man, blind of one eye, and his head affected with palsy. I spoke as freely to him as I could, avoiding to give offence. Neither did I find him displeased when I told him I feared he was wrong, and had not sought an accommodation in the spirit likely to get it. I had, however, Faiz Ahmed to support me, and he joined his entreaties to mine, that in future a more rational line of conduct should be followed.

I related to Lieut. Loveday what had passed.



It struck me that the journey to Mastúng might, or might not, be intended. That Capt. Bean would accept an interview with the dárogah, from all I had heard of his extreme prudence, I thought very doubtful. Lieut. Loveday reasoned as I should, that he had no choice but to accompany the dárogah, if he wished it, and desired me to express his willingness to do so, provided his sípáhís attended him in full dress, accoutred and armed, but without ammunition. I was so certain this would never be allowed, that I wished the stipulation to be omitted, but Lieut. Loveday insisted upon it.

Returning to the dárogah, I informed him that Lieut. Loveday sincerely wished for peace, and did not intend to relax in his endeavours to procure it; that he was agreeable to attend him to Mastúng, but had suggested that his presence would be more beneficial if he was accompanied by his soldiers, without ammunition; for in proportion to the respect shown to him, would be esteemed the weight of his arguments at Quetta. On hearing this, the dárogah instantly rose, shook his head, and bursting into a violent passion, asked me if I took him for a child, and broke up the conference by telling me to go back again to my room. Faiz Ahmed strove in vain to mollify him, and I was obliged to retire.

The next thing we learned was, that the dárogah wished Lieut. Loveday to be made over entirely to his charge and custody, but that Shâhghâssí Walí Máhomed opposed such a step, and that they had

quarrelled on the subject. Shortly after, Sampat, the Hindú servant, was sent for, and was absent some days. Lieut. Loveday was very anxious on his account, and repeatedly inquired for him; but Molahdád answered evasively, and all that could be learned was, that he was in the dárogah's house. We both feared the object with Sampat was to extort disclosures from him, as he was known to be Lieut. Loveday's treasurer, as well as his servant and general confidant. At length Rámú brought back Sampat, and it proved that, after having been at first caressed and made much of in vain, he was subjected to slight torture, the effects of which were manifest on his wrists and arms. Sampat was very reserved upon his return, and what little he communicated was in whispers to his master.

Subsequently I learned many particulars relating to the transactions of this period, which I could not possibly then be aware of. Besides the prevailing belief that Lieut. Loveday had in charge a great sum of money, there existed the conviction that he was in possession of three caskets of jewels, which, after the march of the army from Kalât, had been discovered in a house near the springs. I shall not enter into the particulars of this alleged discovery, the belief in which brought Lieut. Loveday into imminent danger, from which, it may suffice to observe, that my friend Faiz Ahmed saved him, and the same man effected the discharge of Sampat, with the slight injury inflicted upon him, when it

was the intention of the dárogah to have put him to extreme torture, and when cords and stakes were ready for the purpose.

I also learned that Faiz Ahmed, as soon as we were lodged in the citadel, made the most earnest entreaties that I might be dismissed, and that the dárogah consented, even telling Faiz Ahmed to take me to his house. This he feared to do, lest he might draw upon himself the fury of the Bráhuís. Again, when desirous to transfer Lieut. Loveday to his own residence, the dárogah renewed the offer to Faiz Ahmed to remove me, remarking, that as he had acceded to my liberation, it might as well be done at once, and that I could not be easy where I was. Faiz Ahmed excused himself, and said to my servant, that I should not myself wish to come away at such a time, my stay with Lieut. Loveday being in some degree protection to him; as he, and those who interested themselves for me, were obliged also to intercede for Lieut. Loveday, which they could not do, were I at this moment to leave him. Such remarks could have been made by no other than a most excellent man.

In course of time, Lieut. Loveday expressed to Molahdád his desire to see the dárogah, and to concert measures to renew correspondence with Capt. Bean. Rámú and Faiz Ahmed were sent to Lieut. Loveday, and after conversing with him, and reporting favourably to the dárogah, the old man returned with them. When seated, he accused Lieut. Love-

day of the treachery he had on various occasions practised towards him, repeated his wrongs, and then announced his expectations. He had not, however, patience to sit; his anger became evident as he hurriedly passed his beads through his fingers, and shook his palsied head. He rose, and told Rámú and Faiz Ahmed to talk in his place to Lieut. Loveday, who had promised to write a letter to Capt. Bean, and as he was leaving the room he turned to me and sternly said, "Do you write too." Paper was supplied to Lieut. Loveday, and the remainder of the day he occupied in writing his letter. In this instance he made the strange remark to me, that it was now necessary to write the truth; to which I replied, "You should have always done so." The first letter written was cancelled, and another hastily prepared, and it was late before it was ready. I had not written, nor did I intend to write. When the letter was conveyed to the dárogah, Molahdád came back and asked where my letter was. On this demand, to comply being preferable to making excuses, which would neither have been understood nor accepted, I took up a fragment of native paper, and with a native pen wrote in support of Lieut. Loveday's wishes for peace. I showed what I had written to Lieut. Loveday, who remarked to Molahdád that it was good, and enclosed it in the packet intended for Capt. Bean, to be conveyed to Quetta by Hússén, a servant of Díwân Rámú.

Faiz Ahmed, after his visit to Lieut. Loveday on

this day, rebuked the dárogah for his neglect in not furnishing us with decent carpets, cots to repose on, and other little necessities. The old man grew exceedingly angry, upbraided my friend for having turned kâfr, or infidel, and reminded him of the indignities offered to Réhindád and Múlla Hassan. This language again drove Faiz Ahmed to the retirement of his house, from which he was only withdrawn by some concession in favour of humanity.

Before a reply was received from Capt. Bean to the letters sent by Hússén, the Bráhuí chiefs at Kalât considered it necessary to advance to Mastúg. Our intercourse being under restriction, we did not know exactly the reasons of the movement, though many might have been imagined. We were since told by Molahdád, who one day remarked, it would have been better had all remained at Kalât, that on large reinforcements reaching Quetta from Kândahár, Assad Khân, the Raisání sirdár of Khânak, near Mastúg, had sent his son to Kalât, to explain, that unless a movement were made he should be compelled, now that the Feringhís were in force and near him, to make terms with them. It was very clear, that by marching to Mastúg the chances of arrangement, at any time doubtful, were considerably diminished, while those of collision were increased; but the miserable Bráhuís were so indifferently combined, that their confederacy was liable to dissolve by the least accident, and the de-

fection of Assad Khân would, no doubt, have been imitated; to prevent which, a course known to be evil was followed. Seven hundred Kândahárí rupees, not sixty pounds, were distributed amongst the Sahárawâní sirdárs and the young khân's followers at Kalât, and their numbers were, of course, trifling, when this sum provided them with money rations for three days, and afforded besides presents to the sirdárs and chiefs present. It was first arranged that the young khân and the sirdárs were to leave on one day, and the dárogah, with Lieut. Loveday and myself, on that following; but the sirdárs would not accede to this, and insisted that Lieut. Loveday should leave the town before they did. They were perhaps apprehensive that he might remain behind altogether, or their jealousy suggested that the dárogah might make some agreement independently of them. It was therefore decided, that Lieut. Loveday should accompany the young khân, the dárogah and sirdárs to follow.

When the march to Mastúng was concerted, Faiz Ahmed called upon the dárogah to redeem his promise to liberate me. The old man forbade him to speak any more on my behalf, asserting that he had been informed, on trustworthy authority, that I was of more importance than suspected. Faiz Ahmed demanded an explanation, and the dárogah answered, that Nasrúlah had apprised him that Lieut. Loveday had disclosed to

him that I was a jásús, or spy, on the Feringhís, and that when asked how I procured funds to travel, replied, that I had húndís, or bills, for twelve thousand rupees with me. Faiz Ahmed's protestations, as to the falsehood of this tale, were, for the moment, ineffectual, and the dárogah commanded him to resign me to my fate. The information given by Nasrúlah was, indeed, acquired from Lieut. Loveday, for I had before heard of it amongst the many idle things he was accustomed to repeat, although, from whatever other unworthy motives he indulged in such observations, he could not have foreseen that this one of them, in particular, would hereafter prove dangerous to my liberty and life.

When we left Kalât for Mastúng, Faiz Ahmed observed to my servant, with whom he was not in the habit of conversing, "Both you and myself have been bí waffa, or faithless, to Masson Sáhib," meaning, I suppose, that he had been deficient in having omitted to profit by the consent to my freedom, formerly given by the dárogah. While we were yet in the citadel two or three letters came to the young khân and the dárogah, from Réhim Khân, deprecating any violence to Lieut. Loveday and myself. No doubt Faiz Ahmed was instrumental in these attempts to prevent farther evil. At length Réhim Khân's confidential agent, Máhomed Khân, reached Kalât, unfortunately, the day after we had left for Mastúng.

My servant, who saw him, represented him as dejected even to tears, when he found we had been carried away, and that he asked him why, in God's name, I had not come down to them, when I knew they were all friends; and how I came to place myself in the power of so many villains. He also brought a letter, addressed to me, which I never received. It seemed that Réhim Khân was ignorant that our house had been attacked, and that we were prisoners in the citadel; and supposing us still respected, hoped, by his arrival, to put matters in a train for adjustment. When informed of what had passed, on the return of Máhomed Khân, he declared he would have nothing to do with men so unprincipled, and a letter from him to that effect reached the camp afterwards at Mastúng, and exceedingly irritated the insurgent host.

As soon as the tidings of the possession of Kalât by the son of Mehráb Khân spread over the country, the young man's uncle, Mír Azem Khân, set out from Béla, where he was indifferently situated, and where I had visited him in his adversity. He arrived at Kalât in so bad a state of health that his dissolution was expected, but change of air so agreed with him, that he improved sufficiently to be entrusted with the charge of the town on the departure of the khân. I never could learn that he interfered in state affairs, or, per-



haps, was not well enough, but he was wont to inveigh against the inhospitality he had experienced in Las, and betook himself to the free use of strong liquors, from which poverty had for some time debarred him, and which, possibly, contributed to recruit his health.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Departure for Mastúng. — Scene at Kalât. — Nasrúlah. — The young khân. — Route to Mastúng. — Incident at Karéz Amânúlah. — Arrival of dárogah and sirdárs. — Interview with dárogah. — Captain Bean's letters. — The dárogah's vigilance. — Lieut. Loveday fettered at night. — Yúsef Khân's rancour. — Entry into Mastúng. — Place of confinement. — Interview with Kâlikdád. — Preparation of letters for Quetta. — Intelligence respecting Ghúlám Khân. — His arrival in camp. — Captured dâks, or posts. — Indignation of the Bráhúís. — Kâlikdád's apology for me. — Interview with the dárogah. — Report of conversation. — Extra guards, and their evils. — Incidents at Mastúng. — Máhommed Khân's discontent. — Kotrú chiefs and Mir Bohér join. — Major Clibborn's disaster. — Arrival of Saiyád Mobáarak Sháh. — His instructions from Capt. Bean. — Indulgence to Lieut. Loveday. — Formal interview with the young khân and sirdárs. — Capt. Bean's letters. — Indignation of the Bráhúís. — Repetition of fáthá, and determination to slay us. — Misgivings of Lieut. Loveday. — Terror of his domestics. — Good offices of Rais Hárún. — Interview with the dárogah. — Intercession of Réhimdád's relatives and friends. — Disgust at Capt. Bean's letter. — The dárogah accords protection to Lieut. Loveday. — Permission obtained by Rais Hárún for my departure to Quetta. — Leave Mastúng. — Incidents on the route. — Arrival at Quetta. — Interview with the political officers.

WE had passed our ordeal in the ill-omened Chamber of Blood; we were now to leave it and Kalât; what new trials were in store for us it was vain to conjecture; in helplessness we awaited

them, certain only that every moment shortened our captivity, and accelerated the final issue, which, there were too many reasons to fear, could be no other than disastrous.

Led down to the entrance of the citadel, we found the dárogah and sirdárs of Sahárawân standing, while the avenues were crowded with spectators. Camels were at hand; on one of which Lieut. Loveday and Molahdád were placed; on another I was seated, with Naihâl Khân; and, on a third were accommodated Sampat and a man, named Máhomed Kâsim, remarkable as having been the person who, from what I have learned, ultimately slew Lieut. Loveday near Dádar. We passed through the streets amid the yells and hootings of the Brá-húís and populace, the very women spitting upon us, crying *pét ! pét !* shame ! shame ! and reviling us for having had the presumption to sit on Nassír Khân's throne. Many made use of their hands as well as tongues, and Lieut. Loveday being protected by Molahdád, I fared the worst in the transit through the narrow bazár and enraged multitude. When outside of the Mastúng gate we were not followed; and there I saw many of my Bíbí acquaintance, who by signs, desired me to trust in God, which was all they could do, although Kálikdád ventured to tell me, as I passed him, that he would follow me to Mastúng.

We were now attended by only four or five mounted men, dependents on Molahdád, and had

not proceeded far when we were hailed to return, to witness the young khân's exit from the town and the concourse which followed him. Amongst these was Nasrúlah, so well appareled and equipped that I did not recognise him, as he rode, conversing for some time, with Lieut. Loveday, and found out only on coming to the ground, when I asked my companion who that Dúrání was talking to him on the road, for Nasrúlah had assumed the costume of Kándahár. The young khân gave us a specimen of his skill in horsemanship, which I thought he might have spared, especially as the horse he rode was one of Lieut. Loveday's chargers. The youth soon turned off the road to visit a shrine at Zíárat, a village so called, where it is customary for khâns, and persons of rank, to offer their vows, when leaving Kalât on a journey or expedition. We kept on to Káréz Garâní, where the khân's tent had been sent up, and immediately adjacent to it a small one was erected for us, and Molahdád's party. Four other servants of Lieut. Loveday, before at large in the town, followed their master, and the young khân ordered them to be supplied with provisions. The youth sent us melons, and was so remote from any bad feeling that the objections of his people could scarcely overcome his desire to send for us into his tent, that he might converse with us.

The next day we moved on to Mangachar, over the country, believed by Capt. Bean to be filled

with enemies and Bráhuís; not a living creature was to be seen; not a solitary tent at the skirt of a hill attested the presence of a human being. Our small party moved independently of the khân and his retinue, and as we paced over the silent waste I lamented to Lieut. Loveday our misfortune in not having friends, when half a dozen mounted men would have extricated us from our embarrassment. At Mangachar we heard that Hússén, with Capt. Bean's reply, had passed on to Kalât.

Our next march was to Káréz Amânúlah, in the vicinity of Mastúg, and there we halted two or three days. At this place one Sherbet, a Bangúl Zai, accustomed, when we were in the citadel, to bring wine and other things, and even to tell a little of what he knew, came into our tent, saying, he took leave of us, as he had permission to go home to Isprinjí for four days. Sitting down with Lieut. Loveday, Sherbet asked if he could do anything for him. Lieut. Loveday promised him a thousand rupees if he would provide two horses and effect his escape. Sherbet replied, he could or would do as much service, but it must be on his return. Lieut. Loveday gave him a ring. This communion was carried on between Lieut. Loveday, Sherbet, and Sampat, by whispering over a book, Sherbet occasionally asking, in a louder tone, what this picture and that picture meant, pretending to be merely indulging his curiosity.

To divert the attention of Molahdád and the two or three attendants, who only chanced to be in our tent at the time, I sat over with them, and engaged them in conversation. Unluckily, Khân Máhoméd, the younger brother of the late Dáoud Máhoméd, came to the entrance of the tent while this confabulation with Sherbet was in progress; he looked in merely, and said nothing at the time; but reported to the khân what he had seen. Sherbet started for Isprinjí, and in the evening was brought back. We heard a loud altercation at the khân's tent, in which Sherbet's voice, a most sonorous one, was very conspicuous, and we could understand that he was indignantly repelling the charge of familiarity with Labadín. Sherbet was too impudent to be easily put down, or convicted on mere surmise, and he was again allowed to depart, but came no more to us. Molahdád, entirely unsuspecting of what had transpired between Lieut. Loveday and Sherbet, although present in the tent, expressed resentment, in no measured terms, at the conduct of Khân Máhoméd, especially as it reflected on his vigilance and fidelity.

The day following this affair Dárogah Gúl Máhoméd arrived, with the sirdárs of Sahárawân. The latter paid a visit to Lieut. Loveday, and Máhoméd Khân, Sherwâni, sent him a small quantity of sugar-candy, and a bottle of madeira. The dárogah, jealous of such intercourse, desired the wine to be given up. He afterwards had a long con-

ference with Khân Máhomed, who, of course, communicated his suspicions of Sherbet. He next came near our tent, and seated himself on a carpet some fifteen or twenty feet distant from it. I was then summoned, and producing the packet addressed by Capt. Bean to Lieut. Loveday, he desired me to open the letters and tell him what was written in them. I prayed him to send for Lieut. Loveday. He said, no. I then requested that he would, in the first instance, permit me to take the letters to Lieut. Loveday, when I would return and explain to him what was written. He again said no. I then asked him to allow me first to see Lieut. Loveday; to which he assented, and I stepped into the tent and mentioned what had happened. Lieut. Loveday told me, by all means, to open the packet, and acquire a knowledge of its contents, particularly of what Capt. Bean had written privately to himself. I offered peremptorily to refuse to open it, but Lieut. Loveday did not think it necessary, nor, in fact, did I. I returned, and saying to the dárogah, I could now read the letters, opened the packet. I inquired of him what Capt. Bean had communicated to himself, when he complained of the tone used, but added, that the hope of arrangement was still held out, with the recommendation to seek it in humility. I observed that such was exactly the tenour of Capt. Bean's letters to Lieut. Loveday, as it was in truth, but the dárogah was not satisfied with so

general a version, and required a more detailed one, in which I attempted to please him, not by translating the letter, but telling him something to the purport of what he admitted to be found in his own epistle. He then desired me to read it in English, which I did, omitting names, and he smiled at the unintelligible jargon. I next requested that he would permit me to give the letters to Lieut. Loveday, as, having seen them, I should of course tell him their contents, and there could be no reason to withhold them. I even put them into my pocket, but he obliged me to give them back.

In the official letter of Capt. Bean to Lieut. Loveday the concluding paragraph related to me, and was worded nearly, if not quite, as follows: "The mystery of Mr. Masson's appearance at Kalât at the period of the present outbreak, combined with his clandestine residence at that place, has given rise to suspicions, in my mind, of that individual, which I have not failed to communicate to government." If I felt surprise at this announcement, I was perfectly able to conceal it from the dárogah. On return to Lieut. Loveday, I related to him the contents of Capt. Bean's letters, and what the dárogah had said, before I alluded to the above paragraph. He was abashed, and also, to do him justice, apparently much hurt, remarking to me, "Poor fellow, your case is a hard one, to be a sharer in my misfortunes, and, at the



same time, to be so ungenerously suspected." I consoled him by expressing the opinion that Capt. Bean would have addressed his suspicions to those who would treat them with ridicule. Lieut. Loveday, perhaps, recalling to recollection that, in his former letters to Capt. Bean, he might have written in a disparaging tone, as it was his custom to speak of me, observed, that he wondered I had not gone on to Kândahâr. I asked why he should have wondered, when he knew I was awaiting the arrival of the kâfila for my servants and luggage to join, and when he knew, as well as myself, the kâfila's detention on the road, and that, when it did arrive, the country was in arms. I prayed him to be as easy about it as I was myself, and remarked, that it was Capt. Bean's mode of acknowledging the receipt of the letter I had sent; and this I suspected it to be.

Late this evening the dárogah sat in conference with Khân Máhomed and Yúsef Khân Raisâní; and orders arrived that the four servants of Lieut. Loveday, who had joined on the road, should leave our tent, and be distributed in various quarters; I believe their arms were bound behind them. Presently after a man, called the kalífa, came with a pair of fetters, with which he secured Lieut. Loveday's feet to the tent-pole. Not a word passed while this outrage was committed. Additional guards were stationed within and without the tent. I expected the kalífa would have returned with another pair

of fetters for me,—he did not. The night we passed in deep anxiety. I feared the fetters were but a prelude to a worse crime. Neither Lieut. Loveday nor myself slept. He did not speak, nor had I the heart to speak to him. By daybreak, to our great joy, the kalifa appeared, and removed the fetters; the servants were unbound, and the measure proved to have been one of precaution, adopted at the suggestion of Khân Máhoméd and Yúsef Khân.

Early in the morning tents were struck; first the dárogah, then other parties took the road to Mastung. The young khân and our party remained some time longer on the ground. Yúsef Khân tarried to accompany the khân, and on this occasion, while he spared Lieut. Loveday, was very severe upon me, particularly as he had failed to have me fettered as well as Lieut. Loveday; he swore he would kill me in spite of Faiz Ahmed, and have my húndís; also, that he would burn Faiz Ahmed's house, and do many other things. I was ignorant at the time what he meant by the húndís. We were now denied stirrups, and Molahdád mounting a horse, another man was commissioned to ride in front of Lieut. Loveday. Máhoméd Kâsim had rode in front of my camel since leaving Káréz Garâní, as neither I nor Naihâl Khân had been skilful enough to manage the animal. In time we advanced, preceding the young khân and his suite. As we neared the town, the Bráhuís and

inhabitants lined both sides of the road, and we passed between them, amidst jeers, execrations, and menaces. This mortifying exhibition continued until we reached the gardens on the northern side of the town, where we were to be lodged, and we were conducted to a gardener's house, with one room above and another below. We were first placed in the upper apartment, but it was discovered that we should be higher in position than the young *khân*, whose tent was fixed in an adjacent garden, and we were transferred to the lower room, unused by the owners but as a place for fuel and rubbish, on account of mangúrs, large and troublesome bugs.

The horrible imprecations bestowed upon us this day were keenly felt by Lieut. Loveday, who appeared to be nearly exhausted when he entered the apartment assigned to us. The insults of the rabble were feebly repressed by the laughing remonstrances of our guards.

On the following morning, the filthy state of the lower chamber and the grievance of mangúrs being represented, the scruples respecting our elevation as regarded the *khân* were surmounted, and we ascended into the upper room.

We suffered much from the curiosity of the fresh people we encountered here. Our room was very small, and thronged with us, our guards, and visitors. The gardens around us were filled with the levies of tribes, and if we had occasion to leave the chamber

we had enough of insult to endure, and were always pelted with stones and clods of earth. Once a fellow presented his firelock at me, and too close to have missed, had not one Safar Khân, a Lárí, averted his aim. On the tops of the walls, and even on the trees in the gardens, spectators were constantly perched. Moreover, the khân's morning and evening darbárs attracted large mobs, and the daily distribution of grain was distinguished by the utmost confusion and violence. In this, the third stage of our confinement, our situation had become desperate indeed, but it was too critical to endure long without change.

We had been at Mastúg three or four days when I was desired to attend the dárogah. His tent was in the adjoining garden, separated from us by a wall only. I found Kâlikdád, my acquaintance, had arrived from Kalât, and had so urgently entreated the dárogah that he might see me as to obtain permission. The dárogah said little, and nothing on business, but told Kâlikdád he might take me aside and converse with me. We went and sat by the bank of a canal of irrigation near. Kâlikdád detailed the efforts made by Faiz Ahmed in my favour at Kalât, and of the success attending them, until the tale about the húndís upset everything; that, before the dárogah left Kalât, Faiz Ahmed had made another effort, and had sworn on the Korân that the story was untrue, and that I had no húndís. The dárogah replied, that he

could not, as a Mússúlmân, reject Faiz Ahmed's oath; still, he confided in his own intelligence; but, whether I had or not húndís, he would, in consideration of Faiz Ahmed, consent to liberate me, but not until the mokadamí, or contest, was over, and then I should go neither to Quetta nor to Kândahár. Faiz Ahmed compelled the dárogah to swear upon his beard that no injury should happen to me. I observed my fate was in other hands than the dárogah's, and I absolved Faiz Ahmed and himself from all interest in the matter. Kâlikdád said the dárogah was a man of his word, which I ridiculed. He then told me that he was deputed by Faiz Ahmed solely to watch over me, and to keep the dárogah to the observance of the pledge he had made. Kâlikdád added he had brought my servant, Rasúl, with him, and I prayed him to keep him quiet, as he was better at large than with us, and we needed no more company.

The packet detained by the dárogah was at last sent to Lieut. Loveday, and another letter was proposed to be written to Capt. Bean: the dárogah, besides, consented to write to the envoy and minister, but would not listen to a letter for the king.

Before these were framed, some one from Quetta sent intelligence that Ghúlám Khân (brother to the late Dáoud Máhomed, and to Khân Máhomed, who had played the evil part at Karéz Amânúlah,) would repair to Mastúng, and that it was necessary to observe great caution, as he had concerted with

Capt. Bean to rescue Lieut. Loveday. So accurate was the intelligence received by the dárogah of Capt. Bean's actions, and even of his sayings, that he must have had informants in the persons employed by the political agent, if not amongst those in his confidence. About this time it was known at Mastúng that Sherbet had been to Quetta, and had shown to Capt. Bean the ring given to him by Lieut. Loveday. We did not know what to make of it, as Sherbet, according to Lieut. Loveday's account, had not been told to go to Quetta; yet it proved true, he had gone there to get money from Capt. Bean. The Bráhuís seemed to enjoy it as a joke, and were for some time laughing and talking about Sherbet and the ring; and Sherbet much exceeded his four days' leave of absence; when he did return, he was unable to force the guards, but contrived to deliver, through others, some papers and a bottle of brandy, received from Capt. Bean for Lieut. Loveday.

Ghúlám Khân at length appeared in the camp, alleging that he was in quest of a camel stolen from him at Quetta. Increased precautions were adopted towards us, and an additional guard by night was set over us. Ghúlám Khân was strictly watched, although much outward respect was shown to him. Lieut. Loveday was sent for one evening by the dárogah to see Ghúlám Khân, and told me, on his return, that the old hypocrite affected extreme civility, rose when he entered the tent, and

neglected no mark of respect. Ghúlám Khân was compelled to proceed to Kalât. This man had been a prime instigator of the disorders committed by the tribes in the Bolan pass; the enemy of Meh-ráb Khân, he became necessarily the friend of the English, and now reappeared, as was believed, laden with the favour of the political officers. His brother, Khân Mâhomed, had, as before noted, urged the dárogah to fetter Lieut. Loveday. About this time I was summoned to the dárogah's tent, as it proved, to witness the fragment of an intercepted dâk, or post. The dárogah said, three messengers with the packets had been killed, and he desired me to tell Lábadín that it would be better to make peace and prevent such mischief. The dâk was of old date, and amongst the few papers preserved was, singularly enough, a copy of Lieut. Loveday's despatch, announcing the capture of Kalât by the rebels. I was not asked to read the letters, indeed, was not permitted; for, having taken up a document purporting to be intelligence from Khiva, I wished to have read it, for my own satisfaction, and it was snatched from me.

Upon another day I was taken to the young khân's tent, where, besides the youth, were the dárogah and a host of rabble, sitting over the contents of a whole dâk from India, a recent prize. It was comprised entirely, as far as I observed, of newspapers and private letters, with the exception of a public letter from Ferozpúr; a circumstance which

Lieut. Hammersley, at Quetta, explained, by informing me that official letters had been for some time despatched by Kábal. The dárogah again observed, that four messengers with the packet had been slain, and I was anew exhorted to represent the evil to Lieut. Loveday. I was not asked to read the letters by the dárogah or young khân; but the mob sitting around would throw them towards me, asking, what is this, what is that? and, throwing them back to them, I observed they were letters from men to their fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters, and so forth, and could not concern them. They became angry, and very abusive; neither did I care or fear to retort. The dárogah himself was busy in reading Persian letters; he found one which contained, as he said, a bárât, or money-order, that he thought worth keeping, and then took up another; but when he had in part perused it, he cast it away, exclaiming it was bí fâhída, or profitless. He then rose and directed me to be led back. My friend Kâlikdád had been summoned to this scene, and, when I had gone, the young khân remarked to him, "Your acquaintance refuses to read the letters;" and the Bráhúís asserted that I was worse than Labadín, and jeered them; Kâlikdád explained that, amongst Feringhís, it was infamous for one to open and read the letters of another, and that great men would die rather than do it. On the road to our prison apartment, some who wished me well came by my side, and entreated me to be careful in my



language, or, as they said, the Bráhuís would cut me to pieces. I was too enraged to be able to conceal my feelings, and replied, "Curse the scoundrels, it's the only thing remaining for them to do."

The letters to Capt. Bean, and the envoy and minister, were at length written, and sent to Quetta, with a letter from Lieut. Loveday. That officer took the opportunity to correct Capt. Bean, in respect to his unfounded suspicions relating to myself, and instanced, what he was pleased to call my noble and devoted conduct at Kalât, besides pointing out the extent and irreparable nature of my losses. I was perfectly indifferent as to what Lieut. Loveday might write, but he considered himself bound in justice to refute Capt. Bean's prepossessions. I was not present at the interview between the dárogah and Lieut. Loveday when these letters were decided upon, but had seen copies of what was intended should be written. Afterwards the dárogah sent for me, and asked my opinion of them. I replied, that the letters to the envoy and minister had been pronounced by Lieut. Loveday, to be very good; but I would not venture to say so much for his (the dárogah's) own letter to Capt. Bean. He told me not to be afraid, and to tell him what harm there was in it. I said its tone was much too high, and that, if he had an object to gain, and that object worth gaining, he should at least be moderate in his language. The dárogah affirmed that he had no help, for Bean had written

to him in the same style. At this meeting, the dárogah being somewhat reasonable, I conjured him to think seriously on the state of things, and, by a little concession, facilitate the commencement of arrangement, which never would be accomplished so long as letters merely recriminatory and boastful were exchanged between Capt. Bean and himself. He declared, that he sincerely desired an arrangement; when I ventured to tell him, there was one thing, if he would do it, which would compel the government to accord terms. He asked what? I replied, to appoint Lieut. Loveday your envoy, and despatch him to Quetta. He looked amazed; but I continued, that no one would do his business so well; experience had opened his eyes, and he had become so convinced of former errors, that he was prepared to advocate the cause of the khân, and Bráhuís, to an extent far beyond what I could conscientiously advise. The dárogah said, Labadín would betray him. I answered, he could not, or he would be spurned by his own countrymen; and then added, I know you have promised Faiz Ahmed that I shall be dismissed, and that I shall not be harmed. I am in your hands: keep me, dismiss Loveday, and if peace be not the result, cut me to pieces. The dárogah stared at me for two or three minutes, when, shaking his head, he said, he would not release Labadín. Much more passed, but the dárogah represented, that he must await answers to the letters sent. Kâlikdád, who was

present, told my servant that, fearful my plain-speaking might offend, he had, when I was gone, put forth some excuse for me, but the dárogah assured him that he was pleased I should speak my mind, and that my frankness was a proof of honesty.

The extra guards by night were regularly changed, so that we never had the same set of men twice. They sat up all night, and were supplied with oil to replenish the lamp kept burning at the foot of Lieut. Loveday's bed. To divert their inclination to sleep, they told tales and sang songs, without any respect to our rest. At length musical instruments were brought, and kept ringing until morning, so that it was impossible to sleep. Both Lieut. Loveday and myself thought it was a plan to annoy us. For two or three nights we had endured this new evil, when the dárogah, at the instance of Kâlikdád, sent for me very late. My head at the time was distracted, as I had no bed like my companion, nor any pillow on the ground, and the grating of the harsh music horribly vibrated through my ears. I said to the dárogah's man, that his master had hit upon a good method of destroying us with his infernal music, and the fellow nearly tumbled over with laughter. On seeing the dárogah, he asked if I was well, and I asked how I could be well, when we were allowed to sleep neither by day nor night, and mentioned the music. I also told him he had better kill us at once, than in so cowardly a manner.

He smiled, and desired me to return. That night the music was continued, but for the future he directed Molahdád to take the instruments away from the men who brought them. Kâlikdád, it seems, was exceedingly afraid the dárogah was practising some severities upon us, not thinking I should complain so strongly about mere music, and, when I left, he taxed the dárogah, but the old man denied it, protesting he did not wish to give us pain, but that, if we got away, he should be laughed at. As for me, he said I was drunk.

The letters sent to Quetta were not replied to promptly, and this occasioned my being sent for one night, when Molahdád and Rais Hárún were present; for the dárogah had so unconquerable an aversion to Lieut. Loveday, that he was often accustomed to apply to me when he had anything to communicate to, or ask of that officer. He now wished to know why no reply had been sent from Capt. Bean. At this meeting he asked Molahdád, in Bráhuíkí, whether it would be of any use to send me to Quetta. Molahdád answered that I should be murdered on the road. Rais Hárún, here mentioned, was an aged inhabitant of Kalât, trusted by the dárogah, and, therefore, placed by him as a check upon the guards in our apartment. He was reserved and civil, but unrelentingly vigilant.

As at Kalât, we were supplied with provisions from the young khân's kitchen, but at length be-

gan to suffer exceedingly in our narrow apartment. Lieut. Loveday was attacked with an ague every second day. Sampat was also sick. I had no fever, but was otherwise unwell, and two or three of our keepers were ailing. Rais Hárún, amongst them, was brought very low.

We knew little of what was passing amongst the Bráhuís, or more than could be gathered from the conversation of those about us, in which they were chary, having the belief that I understood them. Some time after we reached Mastung a kâfila of eighty loads of tobacco, almonds, &c., belonging to the town, and destined for Kachí, was plundered, when about to start, by the lawless men assembled in the gardens. A quarrel ensued, and Máhoméd Khân, Sherwâní, absented himself from the insurgent councils for some time. Now, a difference of opinion prevailed as to the better course to be followed, this same Máhoméd Khân proposing to march into Kachí instead of attacking Quetta. About this time, moreover, a réport spread that a kâfila of government stores was on the road from Dádar to Quetta: the Bráhuís put themselves into motion, and set off to intercept it. The report proved false; and there was time to recal the men on foot, but the horsemen had gone too far in advance to be overtaken, and had a journey to Mâch, a spot in the Bolan pass, for nothing, but to return as empty-handed as they went. It was calculated that a thousand horse

and about five hundred foot, started on this foray, and which was nearly the strength of the camp, few remaining in it.

We, of course, were able to tell when any fresh arrivals came into the insurgent camp, as they generally visited us. Naihâl Khân, of Kotra, had joined at Kâréz Amânúlah, and Máhoméd Khân, Eltârz Zai, of Kotra, joined at Mastúng. With the latter came Mír Bohér, of Zehrí, but with only fifty followers,—neither could he have ventured into the Sahárawâní camp, to save himself from future vengeance, but under the protection of the Kotra chiefs, uncles of the young khân. He was entirely distrusted, and called to no deliberation. No other chiefs of Jhálawân were present, and no one of the least consequence from Kachí, or other places. At the period when the greatest number of men was assembled, it was said that forty kharwârs of grain were expended daily. It was wonderful to conceive where it could be found; but there is little doubt, but that for the aid of Díwân Rámú, the rebellion could neither have originated or have been sustained.

The tidings of the disaster of Major Clibborn's force in the Kâhan hills did not produce so much sensation as might have been expected, the Doda Marrís, I believe, declining any intercourse with the insurgents, or to make common cause with them. The dárogah was fond of saying, that, if peace were made, he would undertake the chastisement of these Marrís.

When Lieut. Loveday had written his last letter to Capt. Bean, the dárogah desired him to request that Saiyad Mobárak Shâh, of Karâní, and Múnshí Ján Alí, should be sent over to treat. In course of time, we heard that a person resembling the saiyard was in the camp, and so it proved. In the evening I was summoned, and Lieut. Loveday desired me, if there was any letter, by all means to open it. I found the dárogah and saiyard together, and, on entering the tent, the former was explaining to the latter, who wished Lieut. Loveday to be called, that his blood boiled at the sight of him, as he had fed his dogs on human flesh. Letters were produced, and after urging, to no purpose, that Lieut. Loveday should be called, I said I was authorized to open them, and did so; after which I gave a version of such parts of them as could do no harm; and in these letters there was matter relating, for instance, to Sherbet and the ring, which it did not behove the dárogah to know.

I then renewed my entreaties that Lieut. Loveday should be called, and so earnestly, that the dárogah, being alike pressed by Saiyad Mobárak, yielded, first asking me whether he was in his senses, and collected. When Lieut. Loveday came, the saiyard explained, as he had before done to me, that he was commissioned by Capt. Bean to inform them that instructions had been received from the envoy and minister to treat, that

there was one condition to which the khân must consent, and then all other terms should be granted. Lest, he added, addressing the dárogah, you should consider me nákábil, or unskilful, in not ascertaining what that one condition was, I asked Capt. Bean to disclose it, and he said that I must first go and learn what the khân and Bráhuís wanted. The dárogah, this evening, was reasonable; Lieut. Loveday was pleased at the presence of the saiyaḍ, by whose intercession the fetters were remitted; and many thought a ray of hope beamed through the dark clouds of despair which enveloped our prospects.

On the following day both Lieut. Loveday and myself were summoned to a formal interview at the khân's tent, where the sirdárs and principal men were convened. On the right of the khân were sitting two saiyaḍs of Kalât, Máhoméd Khân Sherwání, Malek Dínár, Máhmúdshâhí, Máhoméd Khân, Eltárz Zai, and another person. On his left were Akhúnd Máhoméd Sídik, and various chiefs I did not know. Saiyaḍ Mobárák Shâh and the dárogah were seated in front of the khân, and to their right Lieut. Loveday and myself were placed. After salutations, the Akhúnd made an oration, setting forth what was wanted; the dárogah also spoke briefly, and the young khân attempted a speech, saying something about Súlah! súlah! peace! peace! and Samshír! samshír! sword!



sword! meaning, that if peace were not granted, the alternative must be the sword. Lieut. Loveday was called upon to speak, and said, that he was aware the Brábhúís required subsistence, that the khân wanted his father's country and money, that he had always pressed these things on Capt. Bean's consideration, and should do so again. I was told to say something, and observed, I had nothing to say. This conference was remarkable for the order observed; no one spoke amongst the Brábhúís but the three persons mentioned; at least, not audibly; the saiyads on the khân's right, however, whispered to him many remarks to the prejudice of Lieut. Loveday, and of his appearance. The demands put forth were extravagant, and the dárogah's tone was different from that he employed on the preceding evening.

Letters to Capt. Bean were despatched by Kamâl Shâh, another saiyad, and companion of Saiyad Mobárah, who awaited his return to camp. Mobárah Shâh and the dárogah called on Lieut. Loveday, and the former called once or twice alone, but always so watched that he could communicate nothing if he had wished.

The first time I saw Mobárah Shâh the dárogah asked him, in Brábhúíkí, whether there would be any benefit in sending me to Quetta; the saiyad hesitated, and made no reply; now, when he came to see Lieut. Loveday, he said, that when Capt.

Bean's reply reached, and he returned, as he could not ask for Lieut. Loveday, he would take me with him.

The period allowed for the reply in question had passed, and a letter came from Kamâl Shâh, stating, that he met with nothing but promises and delays. Eventually, however, he appeared, bearing letters for the young khân and for Lieut. Loveday. A packet, containing Capt. Bean's letter, and many private letters, was given to the latter, without observation, and unopened. The private letter, explanatory of the terms proposed, I did not think objectionable, as, on condition of holding Kalât from the shâh, the son of Mehrâb was to be acknowledged khân of Balochistân. Sahârawân and Kachí were not to be immediately restored, but remuneration was held forth. It was even said, that the only way by which an advance of money could be justified would be by the prompt acceptance of the terms. Supposing Capt. Bean wrote in sincerity, I supposed that the Bráhúís had no occasion to be displeased.

We heard, however, that high indignation was excited by Capt. Bean's letter to the young khân, but it was not shown to us, nor were we made cognizant of its contents.

Some time after I was summoned by the dárogah, and Lieut. Loveday gave me Capt. Bean's letter, that I might be prepared if it was needed. I put it into my pocket. Máhoméd Khân, Eltárz

Zai, and many chiefs, were present, but none of the sirdárs or principal ones. They had a batch of newspapers lying before them, which had been sent for Lieut. Loveday, but in a parcel separate from the letters. I was plagued to tell them what they were, and found it difficult to make them understand. They told me to read them in English, and I read two or three lines of a new tragedy reviewed in one of them, and appealed to the dárogah that it was verse. He caught the rhythm, smiled, and said it was poetry. The chiefs amused themselves by worrying me, and throwing first one paper and then another at me, asking what they were, and I asked them if they had not eyes, and could not see they were all the same. They were pleased still to annoy, and became very scurrilous, when I appealed to the dárogah if he was not unreasonable in allowing them so much freedom, and he smiled, and his eye chancing to glance upon my pocket, he asked what I had there. I told him Capt. Bean's letter, and he then inquired what was written in it. I answered, that Lieut. Loveday had given it to me that I might tell him, but he could not expect I could do so before such a set of fellows as those now with him. He seemed by his looks to approve this answer, and Máhoméd Khân, taking pity, said, "Let him go back to his room." The dárogah took up the words, and told me to return.

At noon there was a numerous meeting at the dáro-

gah's tent. It was noisily conducted, and terminated by the repetition of *fátíha*, and the determination to kill both of us, and advance upon Quetta. We soon learned the circumstance from the conversation of our guards, who, in anticipation, assigned to each other our respective garments, one selecting Lieut. Loveday's postín, another fixing on my lúnghí, and so forth. Lieut. Loveday understood enough of the Bráhúí dialect to comprehend the drift of what was said, and became dejected. He had never, I believe, really feared that worse could happen to him than mere detention as a hostage for Réhimdád, a Bakkar prisoner. Saiyad Mobá-rak took leave of us, saying that no letters would be given to him, and that negotiation was closed. The dárogah sent for Lieut. Loveday's seal ring, which was given up.

Lieut. Loveday communicated to me his fears, and I remarked that we were in the power of the villains, and helpless, but, to console him, pointed out that the saiyad was still in camp, and so long as he remained violence would be deferred. Neither could it be done without the consent of the dárogah and sirdárs, who, we were told, were absent when the *fátíha* was repeated. The people about us seemed to think the resolution final, and Lieut. Loveday observed to me, that Molahdád's countenance was changed. All who dropped in also made no secret of the affair, and gave us up for lost. The tragedy was to be enacted

next morning, previous to an intended march to Tíri.

Naíhâl Khân, the cook, was to be spared, because he was a Mússúlmân, and Pír Baksh, the son of Kâlikdád, a brother of Réhimdád, told Sampat he should be saved, and put over his grain-stores.

In the evening Naíhâl Khân went to the khân's kitchen for our daily meal, which was given as usual, but he returned in great terror, and repeated the horrid language he had heard, and wept bitterly, exclaiming in his agony, Oh! the asbâb! the asbâb! the property! the property! we have been victims to the property! In truth, such was, I believe, the case, though it was now useless to reflect upon it. Lieut. Loveday was nearly unmanned by the grief of his servant.

Of those about us, Rais Hárún seemed most affected, and taking his opportunity, earnestly told Lieut. Loveday to ask to see the dárogah. "Who will procure the meeting?" said Lieut. Loveday. "I will," answered the Rais. "Why do you not speak to me? I can manage so much as that." Lieut. Loveday gladly requested him to exert his influence. The Rais instructed him what he should say, and how he should act at the meeting. Amongst other things, he advised Lieut. Loveday to urge that I might be sent to Quetta, to represent his situation to Capt. Bean; and recommended that Lieut. Loveday should lay hold on the dárogah's

garment, and implore his protection. Lieut. Loveday promised to say and to do all, and the interview was arranged.

With the dárogah were Saiyad Mobárah Shâh, Rais Hárún, two Hindús, Râmú and Tékh Chand of Kalât, and, I believe, Molahdád. When we first entered there were also the young son of Réhimdád, the Bakkar prisoner, the son of Kâlikdád, nephew to Réhimdád, with two or three sai-yads of Mastúng. They had, clearly, been soliciting the dárogah's mercy, being interested, on account of the fate of Réhimdád; and the old man spoke kindly to them, while the sai-yads as they retired said, "Peace, dárogah, peace."

Capt. Bean's letter to the khân was handed to Lieut. Loveday, who read it, and loudly expressed indignation, both at the matter and at the terms in which it was conveyed. 1st, The khân was to surrender Kalât; 2nd, he was to go to Kândahár, and make his obedience to the shâh; 3rd, he was to do whatever was hereafter required of him. On these conditions he should be acknowledged. Sai-yad Mobárah was ashamed of his mission, and condemned the letter as heartily as Lieut. Loveday. The dárogah said he would preserve the letter, to show the lord sahib what a fool Bean was.

In the course of conversation, Lieut. Loveday asked the dárogah to allow me to go to Quetta, to represent his situation, but the dárogah said I should not go. He repeated the request five or six times,

—the dárogah refused. At length, when we were told to return to our chamber, Lieut. Loveday placed his hands on the darogah's feet, saying he was his prisoner, and at his mercy, but craved his protection. I did not think the dárogah was displeased at the act. He said, at first, "Kháir ast," it is well; and, finally, Lieut. Loveday continuing his hands in their position, he said "Khâta jam báshí," or, be at ease. We took leave, and Rais Hárún was much pleased that Lieut. Loveday had performed his part so well. This night, however, the fetters were again used.

About midnight Rais Hárún came, and informed us, that he had been until that time striving to persuade the dárogah to sanction my journey to Quetta, but to no purpose.

Early next morning the Rais was again with the dárogah, and on his return, to the surprise of every one, told me to get ready for Quetta, and Lieut. Loveday to prepare a letter for Capt. Bean. Saiyad Mobárák Shâh then came and conversed some time. He said Capt. Bean was a very good man, but was too obstinate, and prayed me to entreat him to yield a little in his obstinacy.

Lieut. Loveday was engaged in writing a letter; and other delays took place, until noon. I was very doubtful whether I should be permitted to leave, and to get ready gave me no trouble, as I had no other clothes than those I wore. At length, however, I was told to come out of the room, and, to my amaze-

ment, instead of being conducted to the dárogah, to the khân, or to any one else, I was led straight through the gardens and put behind another man on horseback. Crowds of Bráhuís assembled to see the íl, or brother of Labadín, as they called me, but displayed merely a little mirth, much to my satisfaction, and that of Molahdád, who, with four horsemen, was to escort me to Feringabád, and who had feared obstruction from the unruly mob. When we had quite cleared the gardens of the place, we awaited the arrival of Kamâl Shâh, who was to accompany me to Quetta, and bring back Capt. Bean's answer, should I remain. On taking leave of Lieut. Loveday I promised to request Capt. Bean to go as far as his instructions permitted him. Lieut. Loveday said, "Tell him to go beyond them." In shaking hands with him, I observed, "Some of these people may not believe I shall come back; you know I will."

When Kamâl Shâh joined us, a horse was provided for me, and we started for Quetta. Molahdád and his party accompanied us nearly to the Lak, or small pass, north of Feringabád. In a line with the village of Tírí three or four horsemen were standing to the left, with their horses' heads turned towards us, and, after a pause, advanced in our direction. Molahdád and I were considerably in front when they came up with Kamâl Shâh behind us, and it turned out that, though they lagged



behind, they intended to profit by his company, and go to Quetta. I heard Molahdád tell his party that they were *chárís*, or spies.

Upon gaining the crest of the Lak, the boundary between the Mastúg and Quetta districts, the *saiyad* asked me if we should wait for the horsemen behind, falsely stating that he had engaged them as a protection to me. I answered, he might please himself, but his servant preferring to go on, we did not halt. A bleak plain stretches for five or six miles from the Lak, to *Sir í âb*, where may be said to commence the cultivated plain of Quetta, which we passed without meeting any one, although we observed a horseman skulking in a ravine to our right, apparently wishing to escape our observation. It was night before we approached Quetta, the two or three hamlets we passed through being deserted by their inhabitants, and the village of *Karâní*, at the skirts of the hills, on our left, being denoted by the numerous fires; for, belonging to *saiyads*, and therefore a neutral place, it had become a refuge to the trembling people of the plain, as well as to many *Bráhuís*. As we advanced we were challenged by the out-picquets of the force, and detained until Lieut. Hammersley, the assistant to Capt. Bean, was informed of our arrival. A messenger returned with instructions to allow us to proceed. *Kamâl Shâh* told the picquets, if four horsemen arrived, as he ex-

pected, to inform them he had gone to Karâni. I privately suggested their detention, and report to Lieut. Hammersley.

When I saw Lieut. Hammersley I told him I much wished to give Lieut. Loveday's letter to Capt. Bean immediately; and we walked to the town where the political agent was residing, in the old citadel, or mîrí. Capt. Bean arose from his slumbers, and repaired to a room, where we joined him, and I presented the letter of which I was the bearer. He was displeased at the contents, inferring, from his remark, that the situation of Lieut. Loveday only excused his manner of writing. I said little, but thought the observation unfeeling and needless, for though I cannot remember what was written, the letter contained nothing objectionable. We conversed but for a short time, and were retiring, when Capt. Bean called Lieut. Hammersley back, who signified to me that Capt. Bean invited me to breakfast next morning. Lieut. Hammersley conducted me to his tent in the camp, which he shared with Lieut. Cooper of the artillery, where I passed the night.

## CHAPTER IX.

Conversation with Capt. Bean. — Placed in arrest. — Singularity of the proceeding. — Capt. Bean's queries. — Meeting with him. — His reason for his conduct. — Impressions as to the Envoy and Minister. — Inhuman treatment of Capt. Bean. — Apprehensions at Quetta. — The Envoy and Minister's letter. — Defeat of the Bráhuís, and death of Lieut. Loveday. — Recovery of Kalât. — Revolution in feeling. — Letters from Calcutta. — Inquiry of Mr. Ross Bell. — Capt. Bean's confession. — Close of Mr. Bell's inquiry. — His recommendation to Government. — Support of the Envoy and Minister. — Evasion of the Government. — Colonel Stacey's generosity. — Departure from Quetta. — Incidents in the Bolan Pass. — Arrival at Dádar. — Molahdád's testimony. — Route through Kachí. — State of the country. — Mír Fatí Khân. — His gratitude and offers. — Arrival at Karáchí. — Bombay. — Settlement of Balochistân. — Colonel Stacey's acknowledgment. — Benefits of Colonel Stacey's successful exertions — Departure from Bombay to England. — Memorial to the Court of Directors. — Second Memorial. — Results. — Concluding remarks.

IN the morning I followed Lieut. Hammersley to Capt. Bean's residence, and had a long conversation with him on the affairs of the Bráhuís, as well as on the situation of Lieut. Loveday. I regretted, for the latter officer's sake, that I was too plainly addressing a weak man, puffed up with absurd conceptions of his official importance, and so uninformed of the nature of things, that it was wasting

words to speak to him. He had not the politeness to ask me to be seated, and gave audience much in the same way as a heavy country magistrate in England would do to a poacher.

Urging the necessity of making every effort to relieve Lieut. Loveday, I noticed the interest taken by the dárogah, and others in the rebel camp, as to Réhimdád, one of the Bakkar prisoners, and proposed that some assurance should be made about him, with the view of creating amongst his friends an interest in the preservation of Lieut. Loveday. This did not accord with Capt. Bean's notions, but he said he would write to the dárogah now, which I understood he had not before done, and likewise to Molahdád (Lieut. Loveday's keeper), offering him a sum of money to effect the escape of his charge. I knew this would be useless, still it might be tried.

When I alluded to the subject of my return, Capt. Bean said there was no reason for it, and he should write to the dárogah that he had detained me for a few days, to know better about his affairs. I observed, that to give me a fair chance, if I was to return at all, it was right I should be punctual. He replied, my return could not save Lieut. Loveday, nor improve his condition; moreover, I had brought no letter from the dárogah. He affected to believe that no harm would befall Lieut. Loveday, as the Bráhuís never killed their prisoners.

Capt. Bean finally informed me, that he had been so good as to provide an abode for me while I might

remain at Quetta, and he directed a person to show the way to it. I was conducted to the upper apartment of a Hindú's house, and immediately an armed guard of troopers and chaprássís was placed over it. Beyond doubt I was a prisoner, though Capt. Bean had not let fall a word to intimate his intention, and I could but smile at the oddness of a man inviting me to breakfast, and then sending me into confinement.

Of course, I remembered the paragraph in Capt. Bean's letter to Lieut. Loveday, which even made my journey to Quetta more agreeable to me, as giving me the opportunity to demand an explanation of it; yet, supposing that Lieut. Loveday's testimony in reply thereto would have satisfied, in some measure, the political agent in Sháll, I made no allusion to it in the conference I had just held with him, not wishing to ruffle his mind, or to distract his attention from Lieut. Loveday's case.

I could not, indeed, forbear to reflect that I had met with an odd reception in the camp of my countrymen, after conduct which Lieut. Loveday had been compelled to own was "devoted and noble," after long endurance of outrage and suffering in the bondage of the Bráhuís, and after most serious losses; all of which evils had been incurred through the desire to be useful to the very government whose servant had ventured upon so indecent a step.

I was conscious that Capt. Bean would repent his

conduct, whether due to simplicity or to a baser motive, and had the consolation to know that inquiry (its necessary consequence) would, if honestly carried out, reveal many circumstances redounding to my credit, which otherwise might have remained unknown.

Anxious to learn the reasons for my confinement, I was glad to receive a letter from Capt. Bean, on the second day of my arrest. Although it contained merely queries as to the route by which I had travelled to Kalât, and why, having once left it, I had returned to it; I answered this communication, knowing him to be as well acquainted as myself with the route; although I had never left Kalât, as he seemed to hint, and therefore had never returned to it. Grieving that he should labour under delusion of any kind, I again wrote to him, suggesting an interview, as the better course for removing his misunderstanding. This led to a meeting, when I was surprised to hear that his suspicions had originated in a letter from Major Outram, about a Russian agent and an army of Arabs in Kej; and though I marvelled at being mistaken for a Russian agent (the only inference I could draw from the tale), I concluded I must abide what there was no help for, and await the result of a report, which he said had been made to the envoy and minister at Kâhal.

I left Capt. Bean, not much enlightened upon the subject of my arrest, but rather with feelings of

pity than of anger, and not doubting but that the envoy and minister would repudiate his suspicions, might, at the time, have given myself no further trouble. My imprisonment was, however, accompanied with treatment so ignominious and unjustifiable, that I could attribute it only to the operation of a malignity of purpose, which, from whatever cause arising, Capt. Bean was unlikely to avow. Considering, therefore, that, as a British subject, I had rights which were not to be wantonly invaded, and that I was privileged to know the reason for my confinement, I called upon the political agent to state it in plain terms. I record his reply :—

“ To MR. MASSON, Quetta.

“ SIR,

“ In reply to your communication just received, I beg to acquaint you that you are detained here by authority, which authority has been applied to for further instruction, and which, when received, will be duly communicated to you.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

“ J. D. D. BEAN,

“ Political Agent in Shâwl.”

“ Quetta, the 29th Sept. 1840.”

Aware, from previous conversation, that the authority alluded to was the envoy and minister, this document relieved me from the pain of holding further communication with Capt. Bean. If the fact were truly stated, the order for my arrest must

have been received at Quetta previous to my arrival there, and this led me to reflect on the possibility that the envoy and minister, indulging his personal resentment, had resolved to interrupt my travels and researches, which I could conceive might be disagreeable to him, both as being carried on without his patronage, and as calculated to interfere with others, working in the same field under his favour. Such impressions, however discreditable to the honour of the envoy and minister, and of human nature, I could not dismiss wholly from my mind, well knowing that that unfortunate man was one of a class who lightly estimated the respect due to those who had chanced to incur their displeasure, and I could fancy I had mortally offended him, in presuming to act upon my own will in the recent expedition to Kâbal. It was still difficult to believe that, even for so disgraceful an object, he would be so bold as to fabricate charges of high treason against me; to go so far he must be a demon, and this was more than I supposed him to be; yet, reverting to Capt. Bean's letter to Lieut. Loveday, I knew not how to think otherwise, for therein it was pretty plainly intimated, that my presence at Kalât had been connected with the outbreak, and if so, certainly I had been guilty of high treason.

\* Under this new aspect of the case, I addressed the envoy and minister briefly, and despatched a longer letter to the officiating secretary to the



supreme government; moreover, to obviate the chance of any objection being raised to my future travels, I wrote to the governor-general's private secretary, Mr. Colvin, requesting his lordship's permission, if necessary, and explaining that I should have asked it before leaving Karachí, had I thought, or even had I suspected that, as a matter of courtesy, it would have been required or wished.

I had now, awaiting the result of these several applications, to linger in confinement, which Capt. Bean's inhumanity made as annoying as possible. His first intention seemed to be literally to starve me, and on one occasion I passed two entire days and three nights without food. As I scorned to refer to him on such a point, I might have fasted longer, had not one of the guard, unsolicited by me, gone and reported the circumstance. Colonel Stacey, besides, who was in the camp, and the only officer who, in face of the known rancour of Capt. Bean, had the courage to call upon me, made some representation to the political officers, which procured a promise that I should be kept from dying of hunger, and the consequence was, that two cakes of dry bread were brought to me morning and evening from the bazár. On this fare I subsisted several days, until a second representation from Colonel Stacey procured me the addition of three-farthings' worth of sheep's entrails, also from the bazár, and brought in an earthen platter; a mess, certainly,

which any dog in Quetta might have claimed for his own. I thought this kind of insult was carried too far, and sent the foul mess to the camp. Colonel Stacey did more than I wished, as I had merely written to him to witness it; for he showed it to his brother officers, and then had it conveyed to Lieut. Hammersley, the assistant of Capt. Bean. This brought Lieut. Hammersley in haste to me, and he exclaimed, very innocently, "Good God! why did you send that mess to Colonel Stacey? Why did you not send it to me? It will disgrace us." I thought that was a subject for his consideration, not mine, and told him so; when, after some conversation, he proposed to make me an *advance* of one hundred rupees, to which I consented; and I may also observe, that some time after I repaid him the amount. At the commencement of my incarceration, a felt cloak had been stripped from the back of a Hindú walking in the street, and this was intended to cover me by night. I could not use a garment filled with vermin, and suffered somewhat from cold, until Colonel Stacey kindly supplied me from his limited camp stock with such articles as relieved me from cold, and enabled me to change my clothes.

For some days after my arrival the movements of the Bráhuís at Mastúng were cause of anxiety at Quetta. Sometimes extra companies were marched into the town, and the camp was under arms,—a force of three thousand disciplined men,—

apprehending attack from half the number of rude, and ill armed insurgents! At length a report prevailed of the rebels' advance to Berg, and Lieut. Hammersley started with the Kâssí irregular horse, to reconnoitre. On approaching Berg, he fell in with the advanced guard, and fled in such haste that two or three men of his party, worse mounted than their companions, were overtaken and slain. So well had the flight been sustained, that on reaching Quetta one or two horses fell dead upon the ground. The Khâkâ peasantry of Berg gallantly defended their property against the Bráhuí spoilers, which so much disconcerted the latter that it favoured a split in their councils, and led to their retreat upon Mastúg, whence they finally marched upon Dádar.

The road to Kalât being now open, and the requisite marching preparations being completed, the force under Major-General Nott moved from cantonment to an adjacent village. Just at this time the reply of the envoy and minister to my letter arrived, for so I was informed, but it was withheld from me for some five or six days, until the army had passed Mastúg; and I could not but suppose the reason to be, that Capt. Bean had learned I had received permission from the major-general to accompany his corps to Kalât, in case a satisfactory reply from the Kâbal functionary arrived. When the letter was ultimately handed to me, it proved a most extraordinary one, and I

place it on record, deeming it as worthy of such distinction as the preceding one of Capt. Bean.

“To C. MASSON, Esq. Quetta.

“I have received your letter dated the 29th ultimo, and in reply, I have the honour to acquaint you that I did authorize Captain Bean to detain you at Quetta, until the pleasure of the Governor-General in council should be ascertained as to your being permitted to prosecute your travels in countries subject to the crown of Cabool, since, so far as I know, you are without permission to do so, either from the British Government, or from his Majesty Shâh Shooja ool Moolk.

“I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) “W. H. MACNAGHTEN,  
“Envoy and Minister.”

“Cabool, 10th October, 1840.”

I was astonished to find no mention of Capt. Bean's suspicions, and grounds stated for my imprisonment, which, judging from that officer's silence, must have been as novel to him as to me, and therefore in acknowledging the receipt of the communication I took care to allude to them, and to express my surprise on other points.

I then wrote a second letter to the private secretary of the governor-general, withdrawing my request for permission from his lordship to travel, feeling it beneath me, on every account, to solicit what his lordship had not the legal power

to prevent, particularly when the envoy and minister had made the question of such permission the plea to justify his arbitrary and shameless conduct.

As the matter had been referred to Calcutta, I was satisfied with having formerly addressed the officiating secretary, and did not trouble myself to offer other explanation in that quarter, but it was with much disgust I found myself doomed to exist for an indefinite period, in captivity, with the political agent of Quetta as my jailer.

After the force marched upon Kalât, tidings were received of the dispersion of the Bráhuí camp near Dádar, and of the slaughter of Lieut. Loveday, an event which, I must confess, did not surprise me, for it was one which some unforeseen good fortune or accident only could have prevented. The companion of the ill-fated officer at Kalât, the malice of my enemies had unwittingly saved me from a similar end,—my certain portion had I been with him in the camp.

Whether all was done that ought to have been done, or that might have been done, to preserve Lieut. Loveday, I shall not inquire. To exchange prisoners is no unusual practice, and a proposal to have released Réhimdád from Bakkar might have prevented Lieut. Loveday's death, as, unquestionably, it would have given many an interest in his preservation. My permission to depart from Mastúg to Quetta, with Lieut. Loveday's letter, had Capt. Bean's desire to come to an understanding

been sincere, which there is much reason to doubt, might also have been made instrumental both for such object and for Lieut. Loveday's release. Neither would I have shrunk from any fair risk to aid in the promotion of these objects; however, in one respect, they were indifferent to me. Capt. Bean, in one of his latter notes to Lieut. Loveday, professed to be amused at the interest pretended by the Brahúís for the Bakkar prisoners, as they had effected the ruin of Mehráb Khân, and as Capt. Bean's notions were peculiar, there was no gainsaying them. Mr. Ross Bell, however, about this time, restored these men to freedom. I know not his motives, neither the precise date, though I am nearly certain it was before he could have heard of Lieut. Loveday's death; and I should hope the release was made with the view to avert that catastrophe, which unquestionably it was well adapted to do.

News of the success at Dádar, and Lieut. Loveday's doom, reached the force of Major-General Nott as it entered into Kalât, deserted by its inhabitants. A deputation was with difficulty assembled to meet the general, and to inform him, that the evacuated town was at his mercy. Colonel Stacey marched into the citadel and hoisted the British standard, the band playing the appropriate tune of "Order in the land." Mír Azem Khân, the young khân's uncle, who had been left governor, fled as soon as he heard that the force had reached

Mastúng, and in such haste that he left the town bare-footed. He carried with him, however, the sípáhís, who had formed Lieut. Loveday's escort, and sought refuge in Zehrí. These men were soon recovered by the promptitude of Lieut. Hammersley, with the exception of the aged and infirm Súbahdár, who strayed from his path on the journey to Kalât, and was never more heard of; and of a youth, Omar Darâz, a múnshí, who understood English pretty well, and who returned to Zehrí after having left it, terrified by the toil and peril of the mountain route.

When I was at first imprisoned at Quetta I could not but be aware that there was a general bad feeling against me on part of the several officers in camp, as to which I was careless, knowing that it arose from the unfounded statements made by the political agent and his assistant, and would, therefore, change in time. Before the departure of the force towards Kalât a better disposition began to prevail, and, after the recovery of the place, when every opportunity had been afforded to obtain a knowledge of the occurrences there, and of the part I had taken in them, I inquired of an officer, on his return, as to the opinion now entertained by his companions, and was answered, that there was but one opinion, that my treatment was most unmerited, and that government would be obliged to give me a situation.

A regiment had been left in Kalât, and details stationed at Mastúng, while the bulk of the force,

under the major-general, retired upon Kândahâr, without passing through Quetta. Having crossed the Khwojak Pass, Colonel Stacey received orders from Mr. Ross Bell to assume political charge of Kalât, as he justly observed, that an officer of experience was required to settle a country so completely disorganized.

About this period I received letters from Mr. Colvin and Mr. Maddock, the latter, secretary to government, informing me that my case had been placed in the hands of Mr. Ross Bell. A copy of the instructions to Mr. Bell accompanied the secretary's letter, and I quote the concluding paragraph, as a proof of the trifling and wanton mode in which an individual's feelings and interest may be treated, when it is thought fit to do so. I say nothing of its absurdity.

*Extract.*—"Mr. Masson will be informed that the subject has thus been placed in your hands, and, under any circumstances, his lordship, in council, is disposed to believe that it will be advisable, that that gentleman should not at present continue to prosecute his travels in the Afghân and Baloch countries; but if you should be satisfied that no important inconvenience is likely to follow a permission to Mr. Masson to pursue his own wishes in that respect, you are at liberty to act upon this view, after communication with Sir William Macnaghten; otherwise you might facilitate his early return to Bombay."



Within a few days I received a communication from Mr. Ross Bell, followed, before my answer could have been received, by another, apprising me that he had directed Capt. Bean to afford me an “opportunity of recording any explanation I might consider proper, regarding circumstances connected with my proceedings, as might have appeared to him to be peculiar.”

Could I have forgotten the insult offered to me, or have lightly considered how my feelings and liberty had been sported with, I might have been amused to find the officer directed to inquire into my conduct,—thus compelled to admit that no reason for my arrest was contained in the evidence before him, supplied by the envoy and minister and by Capt. Bean,—and to witness him reduced to crave that the latter officer would, at least, inform me what his suspicions were.

Capt. Bean was constrained to address Mr. Ross Bell, and to send a copy of his letter to me. I know not if he was ashamed of his production; I was both ashamed to receive and to notice it. The miserable man concluded by the remarkable confession, that his “reply to Mr. Bell’s communication of the 13th ultimo would have acquainted him that nothing further had transpired by which the disloyalty of Mr. Masson as a British subject could be established;” and this, after the collection of a host of depositions at Kalât, and after the examination of the sîpâhîs and servants of Lieut. Loveday.

Mr. Ross Bell, who at this time had in attendance upon him the ex-chiefs of Kalât, Mír Bohér of Zehrí, and numbers of Bráhuí chiefs, and others who had been present at Kalât throughout the period of my stay there, of course possessed the most satisfactory evidence as regarded my conduct, which could not be but well known to all of them; and this was so complete, that again, without waiting for Capt. Bean's letter, or for my explanation, he addressed me, under date the 9th January, acquainting me "that the inquiry he had been directed by government to institute had been brought to a conclusion; that he considered me entirely freed from the suspicion, which was, in the first instance, attached to me with reference to the late unfortunate events at Kalât, and that he was satisfied that my conduct as regarded Lieut. Loveday was actuated by desire to be of service to that ill-fated officer." The letter closed by regretting "that any misapprehension should have caused me to be so long detained, and by stating that copies of this letter, and of the correspondence connected with it, should be submitted for the consideration of the Right Hon. the Governor-General of India in council."

I had no reason but to be satisfied with Mr. Bell's conduct of the inquiry, which was necessarily limited, and, as he afterwards told me, he had nothing to do with the underplot; but I should have been better pleased had it been carried further, for I still found that "suspicions" had been attached to

my conduct, and I conceived I was entitled to know why,—a mystery not explained by Capt. Bean,—neither do I know to this day. In his report to government, Mr. Bell, however, stated, that “no grounds of suspicion ever existed,” and he recommended that I “should be remunerated for the trouble and annoyance to which I had been so unjustly subjected.” When I subsequently saw him, he informed me of this recommendation, and further, that he had called upon the envoy and minister to support it. I also learned, from an authentic source, that the latter functionary responded to the call, and while endeavouring to defend Capt. Bean, recommended that I should receive compensation. The supreme government was probably at a loss how to act upon this occasion,—the magnanimity of acknowledging error was not one of the virtues inherent in the nature of the clique then surrounding the governor-general; and, playing upon his feeble energies, the members of that clique had made themselves a little too conspicuous in the affair, and it was terrible to be compelled to confess discomfiture. It was, therefore, resolved to refer the matter to England, and there to the secret committee.

In the first letter I received from Mr. Bell, of the 14th December, he had desired me to state my wishes with regard to my future movements, and to inform him of the line of country it was my intention to pass through in the event of prosecuting my travels in Central Asia. I did not choose to do

quite so much, and in reply, merely observed that I should be pleased to revisit Kalât under the hope of recovering some of the manuscripts I had lost. In Mr. Bell's second letter, of the 22nd December, he wrote, that if I was desirous to return towards Shí-kárpúr, no objection existed, at the same time desiring me to consider no wish was conveyed on his part, the only desire being, as far as lay in his power, to shorten detention. In Mr. Bell's third letter, of 9th January, he, without hesitation, acceded to my wish to revisit Kalât, and informed me that he had addressed both Capt. Bean and Col. Stacey, to provide escorts to ensure my safe arrival. I had, however, acted on the intimation conveyed in the second letter, as I found myself just in that situation in which, wherever I went, I must neglect something, and I judged, upon the whole, I had better proceed towards Mr. Bell, especially as I did not then know the inquiry would be so soon closed. Moreover, my friend Col. Stacey was at Kalât, and I could depend upon his exertions in behalf of my lost manuscripts.

It behoves me to record that Col. Stacey, as soon as he knew Mr. Bell had charge of the inquiry, at once wrote to him, pointing out the injustice of my confinement as a malefactor, and offered himself as security for my liberation, on parole. He, moreover, furnished testimony which was important, as he was placed in a position to be well acquainted with my innocence or guilt.

As Capt. Bean had been desired by Mr. Bell to provide me with an escort through the Bolan Pass, in case I proceeded to Shíkárpúr, he informed me that a saiyad was just starting, in company with a hávildár's party for Dádar, in charge of the camels of some regiment, and that the opportunity was a good one. I did not stay to inquire whether it was or not, but left Quetta, on foot, and joined the saiyad at Sir í âb. We thence proceeded to Sir-í-Bolan, and again marched to B́ibí Nání, where, at midnight, we heard the pleasant tidings that a marauding band of two hundred Marrís was located at some distance from us. We immediately decamped, and on the road to Kirta, the moon having sunk beneath the horizon, observed through the darkness in our front a number of small lights, plainly proceeding from the kindled matches of an armed party. We first suspected we had fallen into the danger we had sought to avoid, but on our unknown visitors arriving parallel to us, they proved to be Bráhuís, carrying a kâfila of merchandise through the pass, and set into motion by the same fear of a meeting with the Marrís as we were. We passed Kirta on our left before day, and proceeding through the remaining portion of the hills, finally halted, towards evening, on the plain of Dádar, some three or four miles from the British camp.

Next morning I walked down to the camp, and had the pleasure to meet old Karáchí friends in Major Forbes and his brother officers, of the 2nd

Bombay grenadiers, and remained their guest four or five days before starting for Shíkárpúr. While at Dádar, Molahdád, who had been the keeper of Lieut. Loveday and myself, called upon me. He had now little reason to conceal anything, and I inquired of him respecting certain points. His answers were generally as I anticipated; but he informed me of one circumstance attending the correspondence of Capt. Bean with the young khân in his ostensible effort to effect an arrangement, which demands attention. Capt. Bean's letters were invariably couched in the style assumed by a master addressing a slave, and were consequently deemed to be insincere. I was struck with this information, and desired Molahdád to repeat the opening address of any of the letters he might remember. He did so, and it was obvious that from such letters no good could arise. Whether Capt. Bean, or his múnshí by whom he was governed, was to blame on this account, I know not.

From Dádar we journeyed across the plain of Kachí to Hâji Shehár, Bâgh, Kâsim ka Jok, and Barshora on the edge of the Pat of Shíkárpúr, which we crossed, and at Jâní Déra met Mr. Ross Bell. So entirely had the country been devastated, that I could no longer recognize it to be the same I had traversed some fourteen years before. Villages, then flourishing, had ceased to exist; those remaining were destitute of their attendant groves of trees, and even the very waste had been denuded of the

jungal of small trees and shrubs, once spreading over its surface. There was no fear, indeed, of losing the road, as formerly, for that was now well marked by the skeletons of camels and other animals, whose bleached and bleaching bones too well described it, and the nature of the operations which had been carried on. I passed two days the guest of Mr. Bell, who made me an unreserved offer of anything in his camp; and, on parting, I received from him many assurances of his good opinion, and even of his esteem.

At Sakkar I met, at the Residency, Fatí Khân, the brother of the ex-chief of Kalât. He was overjoyed at seeing me, though our intercourse had been very trifling; and I had no great opinion of him. In contrast with the proceedings of the political officers at Quetta and Kâbal, as well as of those of the government, I may be excused if I relate, that this young man came privately to me, and prayed me to accept a sum of five hundred rupees, being what he could then command, and the best horse he had, while he conjured me to visit his brother, Shâh Nawâz, at Larkhâna, who would give me tents, and share with me everything he possessed. I of course declined his offers; and though I should have liked to see Shâh Nawâz, he was too far out of the way. I however had heard from others, how much he rejoiced at my escape from destruction, and how deeply he valued my disinterested exertion at Kalât. Such marks of

gratitude did the khân and his brother honour, and were at least satisfactory to my feelings.

From Sakkar I dropped down the river to Haidarabâd, and again at the Residency found myself with old friends, and after a stay of two or three days, passed by land to Karâchî, whence I had started the year before, on an excursion, which had turned out more pregnant with singular incidents than any other I had made throughout my career.

I thence sailed to Bombay, where I passed some months, expecting to hear further from the government.

While there, intelligence arrived of the settlement of affairs in Balochistân, by the visit of the son of Mehrâb Khân to Quetta, and his consequent acknowledgment, in the room of his late father. This arrangement was entirely owing to the exertions of Col. Stacey, who had to encounter not merely the obstacles opposed by the fears of the youth and his advisers, but those thrown in his way by a party amongst the political officers who were desirous of obstructing the determination of the government, and to keep the country in an unsettled state, for some reason or other. Curious was the form the opposition assumed; and if Col. Stacey could be persuaded to publish a narrative of the transactions of that period, it would be instructive as well as amusing, from his own varied adventures, while, for the better discharge of his duty, and for the purpose of restoring confidence,



he boldly ventured, without a sípáhí, into the camp of the fugitive khân.

From January to July the son of Mehráb Khân could not be brought to trust himself in the power of the political officers at Quetta, although to receive the dominions of his father. On the 26th of the last month, he joined Col. Stacey, and proceeded in company with him to Kalât. The colonel on this occasion was pleased to address me, and his letter concluded with a paragraph which the queer conceits of Capt. Bean, and others, will permit me, without impropriety, to insert—"Let me thank you for your kind advice when in your prison. I am grateful for it, and you must be gratified that, acting on it, I have accomplished what the world said was impossible."

The submission of the khân being followed by the pacification of Balochistân, the remote benefit of the colonel's exertions was very signal, for had that country continued in a disturbed state the force at Kândahár would, in all probability, have been involved in calamities similar to those which befel the unfortunate force at Kâbal; whereas it was, in the hour of need, strong enough to maintain its position, to uphold British reputation, and to coöperate effectually in the necessary measures consequent on an honourable and expedient evacuation of the country, which the present governor-general, soundly exercising his judgment, at once fearlessly determined upon.

Finding the silence which the government of India had adopted as to my case, in no wise likely to be dispelled by any effort of mine, I decided to proceed to England, and to make an appeal there. I, however, became cognizant of a little more that had passed, and learned that the secret committee, to whom the matter had been referred, had alike suggested the hush system, commending the acquittal and release, but disrelishing the point of compensation, or, in other words, admitting the injustice, but withholding reparation. I despatched, in consequence, a memorial to the Court of Directors, praying for the papers connected with my arrest and imprisonment, which I supposed I had a right to demand, and immediately after sailed from Bombay to Suez, and passing through Egypt, eventually reached London in February of the past year.

My Memorial to the Honourable Court had the fortune to be unnoticed, on the ground that it should have been forwarded through the channel of the government of India. I therefore framed another, claiming the compensation recommended by the Court's own officers, Mr. Bell, and the envoy and minister. This was received, and so far noticed, that it has been forwarded to the Indian government for consideration and report; as, strangely enough, the Court of Directors have not the documents necessary to form an opinion on the matter!

They are with the Board of Control, who refuse to give them up, if I rightly understand the subject. The result of the Court's reference, time will develop. The Indian government has, happily, passed into other hands, and is more efficaciously administered than formerly; and, as I also hope, more justly, it may be that I may not lament the reference.

Throughout the transactions, which I have briefly instanced in this chapter, it never seemed to occur to any of the parties arrayed against me, that there was such a thing as law established in England, or that there were tribunals to which a British subject might look for protection and redress. Never, for a moment, did they appear to entertain the notion that they were responsible for their actions, and, from the governor-general to the political agent in Shâll, there seemed but one conviction,—that their pleasure stood in place of law.

They have had their day of abused power and levity, and of authority they were incapable to wield; many have been overwhelmed in its exercise, and a few have escaped to the insignificance from which accident had, for the moment, elevated them.

On me devolves the task to obtain satisfaction for the insults and injuries some of these shallow and misguided men thought fit to practise upon me. It was first necessary that their charges and

insinuations should be proved false and imaginary ; so much has been done without an effort on my part. Whatever steps I may take, they can have no reason to complain, and they will have the bitter reflection that I am not the aggressor.\*

\* In the course of this chapter, Major Outram's name occurring in connexion with the reason given by Capt. Bean for his conduct, it behoves me to insert, with reference thereto, an extract from a letter of a mutual friend, dated "Camp Sukkur, 28 Nov. 1840 : Major Outram desires me at the same time to express to you his great annoyance at your detention at Quetta, in consequence of some misunderstanding on the part of Capt. Bean, of his (Major Outram's) expressions respecting you ; and he begs me to assure you of his being perfectly unconscious of ever having cast the slightest suspicion on your character. The moment Major Outram received your letter he wrote to Capt. Bean to the same effect, as also to request an explanation of the grounds on which he (Major Outram) was quoted as an authority for your detention ; for so far from the slightest wish to interfere with your views in any way, Major Outram would be most happy to have it in his power to serve you ; and trusts you will never scruple to command him, when he can be of any assistance. The above explanation will, I feel certain, tend to satisfy you that Major Outram is in no way to be held responsible for the annoyance you have undergone, and that it must be traced to circumstances over which he, at any rate, can have had no control, directly or indirectly."

MEMOIR  
ON  
EASTERN BALUCHISTAN,  
\*  
OR  
THE TERRITORIES OF THE  
BRAHUI KHAN OF KALAT.

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# MEMOIR

ON

## EASTERN BALUCHISTAN.

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### PART I.

#### GEOGRAPHY.

BALUCHISTAN comprises the extensive regions between the confines of modern Persia and the valley of the Indus. To the north, Sístân and Afghânistân, to the south, the ocean marks its boundaries.

It is my intention, in this Memoir, to treat only on the eastern provinces of this country, or those included under the dominion of the khân of Kalât. Of the western provinces, or those bordering on Persia, our knowledge is, unfortunately slight: and I regret my inability to increase it, since they constitute, on many accounts, the more interesting portion of Baluchistân. As regards the eastern provinces, a personal acquaintance with many of them will justify the formation of tolerably correct notions of the remainder, and renders the

task comparatively easy to appreciate the value of reports and statements received of them. Such information, in this case, has a degree of utility, and is applicable, being within the scope of scrutiny and verification.

For the better elucidation of the Kalât territory, its distributive arrangement is desirable. This object is facilitated by the favourable position of the central provinces of Sahárawân and Jhálawân, extending in a continuous line from north to south. To the north, resting upon the country of the Afghâns; to the south, connecting with the maritime province of Las. We may, therefore, be permitted to separate the khân of Kalât's territory into four principal sections. The first, embracing the provinces to the west of Sahárawân and Jhálawân; the second, including the maritime provinces; the third, the central provinces of Sahárawân and Jhálawân themselves; and the fourth, the provinces to the east of the last. This arrangement, besides being suggested by considerations of locality, is sanctioned by the diversity of dialects current in the provinces of the several sections, as will be seen when it becomes our duty to draw attention to that subject.

The first, or western section, comprises the subdivisions of Núshkí, Khárân, Múshkí, Panjghúr, Kej, Kolwah and Jhow.

The second, or maritime section, includes the provinces of Las, Hormára and Pessaní.



The third, or central section, is formed of the great provinces of Sahárawân and Jhálawân; to which are added the districts dependent on the capital, Kalât, and which are intermediately situated between the two.

The fourth, or eastern section, includes the provinces of Kach Gandâvâ, Hárand, and Dájil; the last two bordering on the river Indus.

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#### FIRST, OR WESTERN SECTION.

##### NUSHKI.

A considerable province to the west of Sahárawân, about five days' journey from Kalât, and four from Mastúg or Shâll. It is bounded to the north by the Afghân district of Shoráwak; to the south by waste lands stretching for two marches, and dividing it from Khárân; to the east, by hill ranges separating it from Gúrghína, a dependency of Sahárawân; and to the west by the sand desert, extending to Sístân.

There are no towns or villages, properly so called, in Núshkí; the inhabitants residing in tents. Through its limits flows the river Kaisar. Its waters are said to be unavailable for purposes of irrigation. During the latter part of the year its

bed is nearly or quite dry. When replenished by the rains of spring, it is unable to force a channel through the sands, and is lost amongst them.

Notwithstanding the nature of the soil, and its vicinity to the desert, there is an extent of land devoted to the cultivation of wheat by the inhabitants of Núshkí, sufficient not only to supply their own wants, but to yield a surplus for export to Kalât and the neighbouring provinces. This land is at the very skirts of the hills, and of the description called khúshk âwâh, which owes its fertility to the bounty of the clouds. It need not therefore be pointed out, that the harvests of Núshkí may, by accident, fail.

Amongst the products of Núshkí, assafoetida merits notice, as the gum resin is collected and sent to Kalât for sale. Large quantities of the green plant are also brought to the capital, in season, and while purchased generally by all classes, is particularly sought for by Hindús, as a condiment. The hills which furnish assafoetida yield also rawâsh, or native rhubarb, and its roughly acidulated leaf-stalks are made to serve as food.

Núshkí is inhabited by the tribe of Zigger Míng-hals, who anciently dwelt on the Dasht Gúrân near Kalât. Impelled by numerical increase, they migrated into the more ample domain of Núshkí, and there established themselves, to the prejudice of the Rakshânís. Of the latter, two tomâns, or clans, still reside at Núshkí. The present chief of the

Zigger Mínghals is Fázil Khân, son and successor in authority to Bahâdar Khân, whose memory is revered even beyond the narrow circle of his influence when living—a tribute due to his humanity and generosity, and to the hospitable reception he was wont to accord to the merchant who visited his sequestered seats.

The inhabitants of Núshkí do not migrate in the winter season. It is asserted that it would be inconvenient to do so, from the great numbers of their live stock, as camels and sheep. At any rate they are not compelled, like the tribes of the bleaker regions of Sahárawân, to shift their quarters from severity of climate. Situated at the foot of the hill range supporting the plateau, or table lands of Sahárawân, and on the skirt of the great desert of Sístân, which may well be conjectured to have been in some former state of the globe covered with the waters of the ocean, the depressed elevation of Núshkí is adverse to the development of the rigors of winter. Snow very rarely falls, and when it does, only as a perishable emblem, to melt and to disappear.

There is a breed of horses in this province which, if not eminently distinguished, is still valued, and it possesses also a variety of the tází, or greyhound, of much repute in Balochistân, and prized in more-remote countries.

## KHARÂN.

A province west of Sohráb, the northern extremity of Jhálawân. Separated by large waste and hilly tracts from the surrounding districts, it has to the north, Núshkí; to the south, Múshkí; to the east a portion of Jhálawân, as just noted; and to the west, but at a long interval, Panjghúr.

The grains cultivated in Khárân are chiefly wheat and barley, grown as in Núshkí, on khúshk âwâh lands. It may be inferred that the produce is inadequate to the demand, as wheat is imported into Khárân from Núshkí and other places. The inhabitant of Núshkí vends his goods at the capital for money; the inhabitant of Khárân barter his commodities for grain.

Amongst the products of this province, shakar gaz must be noted. It is a sweet gum, exuding from a variety of the tamarisk tree, and liquescent in the ordinary temperature of the atmosphere. In Khárân it is used as a condiment; at Kalât, as a luxury, being dissolved in water, and drunk as sherbet. As large quantities of this gum are brought to Kalât, the proportion of trees bearing it must be considerable, and the fact would seem to prove that the country about Khárân is much broken, and intersected by the beds of water-courses and torrents, while the surface of the soil may be presumed to be impregnated with natron and other efflorescent

salts, conditions suitable to the growth of the tamarisk.

Assafoetida grows in the hills of Khárân; the gum resin is not an object of attention. The date tree flourishes in the level country; its produce, with melons, are the only fruits.

Khárân has two small towns, one named after the province, the other called Wâshak. It is inhabited by the Núshírvâni tribe, whose principal chief, in 1831, was Mohém Khân, of the Rakshâní branch. Then disaffected to the government of Kalât, he was a refugee at Kândahár. Desirous to transfer to his own coffers the scanty revenue remitted by the province to the supreme chief, he was resisted by the Alif Zais, another branch of the Núshírvâní tribe resident in Khárân, and so effectually, that he was constrained to fly.\*

A tenth of the produce of the soil is paid to the officers of the khân of Kalât, as revenue; a burthen so light, that, until a heavier one be imposed, or demanded as a return for protection, the inhabitants would scarcely wish to incur the risk of a change of masters.

\* He has since died, and been succeeded by Assad Khân, who, in recent Baloch history, has become memorable for the asylum he afforded to the son of Mehráb Khân, and for his share in the events which have led to the restoration of his *protégé* to the masnad of his father.

## MUSHKI.

An extensive province west of Jhálawân, and seven days to the south-west of Kalât. To the south, it has Jhow, and to the west, Kolwah.

This large tract is not distinguished for any particular article of produce; whence it may be assumed that the cultivated lands are of the khúshk âwâh class, as in other parts of Balochistân, and that the quantity of grain grown does not exceed the consumption. It is probable it may not equal it, but the numerous flocks of the Baloch tribes tend to obviate any inconvenience arising from a deficiency of grain. Indeed, they render them, in great measure, independent of it.

Múshkí is inhabited by various tribes, as the Mehmasaní, the Núshírvâní, and the Mírwârí. It has several towns, villages, and castles, as Shahár Kalât, Sheríkí, Gajar, Míhí, and Múshkí, held by officers of the khân of Kalât; Gréshar, occupied by Sáj-í-dín, Sâka; Perwâr, said to be large, and Míání Kalât, in the hands of Mírwârí chieftains; Gwarjak, a fortress of repute for its strength, a strong-hold of the lawless Mohém Khân, Rakshâní; with Jibbarí, another large fortress in possession of Rústâm Khân, chief of the Mehmasaní tribes, who, of late years, has paid but an equivocal allegiance to Kalât.

## KOLWAH.

A spacious province, to the north of the maritime province of Hormára, and four or five days from the coast. To the east, it communicates with Múshkí, and on the west a desert interval interposes between it and Kej.

It is inhabited by various tribes, as the Mírwârí, Rodáhí, Homeráří, and Núshírvâní. It has several villages and castles, as Rodáh Khân, chief place of the Rodáhí tribe, who, besides, hold Siggak, Húr, and Mádag; the last a castle, said to be large, but neglected; Balor, the residence of Mír Bízan, principal of the Homeráří tribe; Goshának, a fortress occupied by Mír Dostín, sirdar of the Mírwârí tribe; Shahár Mirdád, Dád-í-Karím, and Múlla Hassan, Ahwâra, held by other Mírwârí chiefs; Shahár Shâhdád, belonging to Shâhdád, a nephew of Mohém Khân, Rakshâní; with Shahár Ibráhím, in the trust of the Khân of Kalât's officers.

The inhabitants of this province, as well as those of Múshkí, keep up little or no commercial intercourse with Kalât. With the ports on the coast an exchange of commodities is maintained; rice, dates, cotton cloths, spices, and dye-stuffs, being received in return for wool, roghan, hides, and bdellium. The traffic of the preceding province, Múshkí, is directed principally *viâ* Jhow to Súnmiání; a small portion of it, with nearly the whole of that of Kolwah, finds

its way to Hormára. From the last place considerable quantities of dried and salted fish are expedited inland. It is clear that the inhabitants of the interior of Balochistân derive no inconsiderable part of their subsistence from the coast. A country so sterile, and little productive, as to be incompetent to support its own meagre population, can offer trifling prospect of advantage to recompense enterprise and adventure, and no temptation to excite political cupidity.

#### JHOW.

A smaller province than the preceding, is separated from the maritime province of Las by a well-defined hill range, its boundary to the east. To the north it borders upon Múshkí; to the south upon waste and sandy tracts, stretching to the ocean. Westward it inclines towards Hormára and Kolwah.

Its inhabitants are of the tribes Mírwârí and Hálada; the latter, although admitted to be Bráhúi, do not enjoy great consideration, and would appear to be of essentially pastoral habits. The only town, or village, is said to be Nandarú. In this province is an ancient site, where coins, trinkets, &c., are frequently discovered. I had not an opportunity of visiting it. Ancient artificial mounds are here, as in other parts of Balochistân,



called dams. In Jhow, many have distinctive names, as Saiyad-dam, Lindro-dam, Katro-dam, &c.

## PANJGHUR.

A fertile province to the north-east of Kej, and fourteen easy marches from Kalât. To the west are the districts of Magghas and Sib, independent of the Kalât authority. It is inhabited by the Gitchkí tribe of Bráhuís, the more potent chief of whom is named Gwárân. His obedience to the Kalât government is perfect, and he is in consequence respected, as well as confided in, by it. There are ten small towns or villages, represented as being clustered together in Panjghúr, viz. Isáhí, Tásp, Khodâ Badân, Karím Khân, Vashbúd, Súrík Horân, Sorídú, Dúzanâb, Khallak and Titchkhân.

Panjghúr is celebrated for its groves of date trees. Their fruit is exported to Kalât as a luxury. It also produces grapes, said to be of good quality, and, what is more useful, excellent corn in abundance. Amongst its vegetable products, turnips are plentifully raised. The nature and variety of the cultivated objects in Panjghúr attest the fertility of the soil. The agricultural habits of the inhabitants have softened their manners, and they are as much distinguished from their turbulent neighbours, for their peaceable demeanour, as for their superior acquirements in the arts, and conveniences of life.

A kârdâr, or agent of the khân of Kalât, is resident in Panjghûr, to receive his master's revenue. Levied in the proportion of a tithe of the fruits of the earth, its amount is transmitted to the khân's treasury in gold.

#### KEJ.

The most western province of the Kalât territory. It is distant from the capital twenty-one camel-marches, and about seven or eight marches from Gwâdar, on the coast.

There is reason to believe that it was formerly a place of much importance ; on which account, the fullest information regarding it would be desirable. It is our misfortune to know less about it than any other of the Kalât khân's provinces. It still figures eminently in the legendary lore of Balochistân, and is the fairy land of this part of the world.

Nasír Khân marched a large army into Kej, and its firm and steady retention was always one of the measures mainly engrossing his attention. His successor, Máhmúd Khân, found that its remoteness was favourable to the rebellious projects of the turbulent chieftains residing in it, and towards the close of his reign it no longer acknowledged allegiance to him. His son, Mehráb Khân, signalized the commencement of his rule by vigorously assert-

ing his authority in Kej, but the subsequent troubles of his reign have again rendered its submission little better than nominal, the principal town, of the same name as the country, being only held in his name. The importance of Kej, and the evil arising from the diversion of its revenues, which, when paid, are forthcoming in gold, could not but be felt by the present government of Kalât. Accordingly, in 1828 or 1829, Jám Alí, the chief of Las, under orders from Kalât, with his own troops and those of his allies, marched from Béla to Kej. The expedition is affirmed to have been successful; but its return would appear to have been followed by a recurrence of all the disorders it was intended to repress. In 1831 the serious notice of the government was again directed to the affairs of Kej, and the whole of the Bráhúí army, under command of the khân's brother, Mír Azem Khân, and the minister, Dáoud Máhoméd Khân, broke ground from Sohráb in Jhálawân, and took the road to Kej. Little good could, however, be expected, as the royal army was chiefly composed of leaders and their followers, in concert and connivance with the disaffected, against whom they professed to march; and the expedition was attended with no substantial advantage. Kej is inhabited by many tribes, but the Gitchkí would seem to be the dominant, if not the more numerous. Their chief, Shékh Kâsim, dwells at the town of Kej. It would be interesting to ascertain whether any part of the population

of this province correspond with the Déhwârs of Kalât and the Tâjiks of Upper Asia. It was a point on which I could not satisfy myself by inquiry. Above half the population, however, are of a religious sect, called Ziggers, who dispense with the observance of prayers, rites, and other ceremonies, which more orthodox Máhomedans consider indispensable.

There are many towns or villages, and castles in Kej. The capital bears the same name. It is distinguished by its arg, or citadel, which being also called mírí, or palace, is probably an analogous structure to that of Kalât, serving, like it, both for fortress and residence of the chief. This stronghold is held by Bíjár, on behalf of the Kalât khân. There are, besides, Núkí Kalât, Tarbat, Gúshítang, Maksúdí Kalât, Pídrak, Ghwerkap, &c., &c., places of more or less consequence.

From Kej there is a commercial intercourse with the ports of Gwâdar and Charbár, on the coast, and a kâfila occasionally passes between it and Kalât.

## SECOND, OR MARITIME SECTION.

Comprises the countries bordering on the sea, from the western limits of Sind to the vicinity of Gwâdar, whence the continued line of coast becomes subject to the Arab chief of Maskát. The eastern extremity of this extensive tract is occupied

by the province of Las, obedient to its own chief and government, yet acknowledging the supremacy of the *khân* of Kalât. The remainder is a sterile sandy space, intervening between the ocean and the mountain chains supporting the more elevated provinces of the preceding section. Unblessed by fertilizing springs and rivulets, its arid surface displays a dreary succession of yawning ravines, parched wastes, and undulating sand-hills. The scanty vegetation serves to exhibit the poverty of the soil, and to attest its inapplicability to culture. The fervid heat of the sun, on these inhospitable shores, is indeed moderated by the winds, which rage during the greater part of the year, and with so much violence that it becomes questionable whether the inconveniences they occasion are compensated by the exemptions from other evils which they bring with them. Yet, on this desolate coast, we find two small ports, Hormára and Pessaní, flourishing by their little traffic, and maintaining a commercial communication between the natives of the country and those of regions distant and beyond the seas. In former days—but the advantages must have been greater then than now—European intelligence did not neglect this unpromising tract. The substantially constructed remains of forts, and residences on various parts of the coast, testify to the settlements of the Portuguese. Of these, a considerable one existed between Hormára and Pessaní, at the creek of Kalamat; a locality, whose interest was

enhanced by the circumstance of its being one of the recognizable stations of the Macedonian fleet under Nearchus. Yet, while freely admitting that the trade with the interior of the country in those days ought not to be estimated by its actual low scale, I cannot believe that the numerous Portuguese stations along the coast were due to it, or supported by its profits. I rather suppose they were intended to preserve the communications between their Indian ports and their great emporium, Ormuz; which, at that early era of navigation, may have been closed by sea during the periodical winds, as they are now to natives. The opulence of Ormuz is remembered but as a dream gone by, or as a subject to moralise upon. Its fall necessarily involved that of its dependent posts and settlements.

## LAS.

A large province, with well-defined boundaries. To the east, the termination of the great hill range, dividing Sahárawân and Jhálawân from Kach Gandâva, and Sind, called, in maps, the Hâla Mountains, but known to the natives by many and various names, separates it from Lower Sind and the Delta of the Indus. Amongst these hills flows the Hab river, on extraordinary occasions only discharging its waters into the sea. Pursuing a rocky course, it winds through a thankless and

neutral soil, over which range wild Lúmrís, whose property is in their flocks of goats. The road from Béla to Haidarabád crosses the hills, inhabited by the Chúta tribe, and leads by a spot called Shâh Balâl, where is a zíarat, or shrine, of repute, distinguished by groves of tamarind trees and the presence of pea-fowl. These beautiful birds and the groves are considered sacred by Máhomedan and Hindú—so easy to the unreflecting mind is the transition from wonder to homage. To the west, a continuous hill range stretches from the north of Béla to the ocean, upon which it closes beyond the point where the Púrálí river effects its junction. By this range, in the parallel of Béla, Las is separated from Jhow, a pass, or lak, as here called, over the hills, communicating between the two provinces. This lak is remarkable as having been, in great measure, artificially formed. The labour is ascribed, as all such labours are, to Ferhâd. While these two ranges approach to the north of Béla, as to an apex, to the south the line of sea-coast forms the boundary of the province, constituting a vast triangle, the area of which is occupied by an expanse of level, more or less wooded, and frequently marshy, diversified by the tortuous and tamarisk-fringed course of the Púrálí river, by dry open tracts bordering on the hills, and by low sandy hillocks on the margin of the sea.

Las is inhabited by the Lassí division of the

great tribe of Lúmrí or Númarí. Whether they derive their appellation from the country they dwell in, or whether the country is called after them, is uncertain. The Lassís have numerous subdivisions, as the Jámhút, furnishing the jám, or chief ; Gúngah, Angária, (the name of a German tribe, according to Tacitus,) and Chuta, who claim a close affinity with each other. There are also the Gadúr, Masorah, Manghía, Shékh, Shâhokah, Súr, Váhreh, Sâbrah, Mândarah, Rúnja, Búrah, Dodah, &c.

These races acknowledge a consanguinity with the Báttís of Jesalmír, &c. Their origin they trace to Samar, the founder of Samarkand. He had, they say, four sons—Nerpat, father of the Lúmrís, or Númarís of Las; the Búlfats, or Númarís of Sind; and the Júkías, also of Sind: Bopat, father of the Báttís of Jesalmír; Aspat, father of the Chaghatais; and Gajpat, father of the Chúra races. It may open a wide field for reflection, perhaps for controversy, but there is every probability that these Lúmrí, and other Jetic tribes, have an origin identical with that of the Jet, or Gothic races, so memorable in the middle ages of European history; and that the same political causes which impelled the one portion in a direction by following which they ultimately reached the shores of the Baltic, precipitated the other portion upon the continent of India. The Lúmrís speak a dialect scarcely varying from that current in Sind.

The Lúmrís are an active hardy people, and lead



essentially a pastoral life. Their wealth consists of their flocks and herds, which the grass of their jangals allows them conveniently to subsist. Their flocks, however, are principally of goats, and their herds of buffaloes, although they have cows, but in less number. Sheep are probably unsuitable to the nature of the country, the pastures of which, besides being rank, spring from a damp and saline soil. Camels also contribute largely to the comfort and affluence of the Lúmrí people, and are reared in amazing numbers. Agriculture is neglected, perhaps despised; and, confined to the vicinity of the few towns and villages, is in general carried on with Hindú capital.

Wheat and barley are grown but in small quantities, those grains being imported from Khozdár. Júárí and mâsh are objects of culturê, with mustard and the cotton plant. Near the capital, a little rice of good quality is grown in the forsaken bed of the Púrálí. In the same favoured soil a few vegetables are produced, and tobacco is cultivated. The produce of Las in no wise meets the consumption of the inhabitants; red and white rice, júárí, with various other grains and pulse, are largely imported from the ports of Sind, from Mandaví, Bombay, and even Maskát. The abundance of horned cattle provides large quantities of roghan, and a considerable amount of hides for exportation, and of natural or untended produce; the hills yield abundance of honey, wax, and

bdellium. The camels of the Lúmris are articles of traffic, and their trained animals are esteemed. The manufactures of the Lúmris are coarse cotton fabrics, or pácha, carpets, felts, sacks, ropes, &c., woven indiscriminately from the shorn honours of the goat and camel. From camel-hair the âbrah, or cloak, of coarse texture, universally worn by the males, is made. Its virtues, independent of cheapness, are durability, and resistance to rain. The food of the Lúmris is very simple, and chiefly bread of the inferior grains, with buttermilk. Mâsh also enters largely into their diet, and red rice, boiled up as wat, or frumenty, is a favourite dish. They are accused of eating flesh in a raw state, which means, I presume, that they are not partial to overdone meat. Simple as is the fare of the Lúmri, and rude as are his manners, he is a slave to the pernicious practice of opium-eating, thereby, while endangering his health, faculties, and morals, offering additional evidence of his affinity with the Báttí, and other degraded races.

The government of the Lúmri community of Las is vested in an hereditary chief, with the title of Jám. He exercises within his own territories an independent and uncontrolled jurisdiction, acknowledging, nevertheless, the supremacy of the Brá-huí chief of Kalât, to whom, if required, military service is rendered. Although it is understood that the chief of Kalât may not, on occasions of lapses of authority, disturb the natural order of suc

cession, his concurrence in the selection of the future ruler is deemed necessary, and his deputy performs the inaugural ceremony of seating the new jám upon the masnad. The dependence of Las upon Kalât, while so easy as to be little more than nominal, is likely, however, to become more definite, both because the government is visibly deteriorating, and that the connexion is the only precautionary measure which the inferior state can adopt to secure its independence from being destroyed by its powerful and grasping neighbours of Sind, who behold with extreme jealousy the harbour of Súnmiání, and the diversion of a portion of the commerce which they wish should be confined to Karáchí.

The reigning jám of Las is Jám Meher Khân, and, at this time, may be sixteen or seventeen years of age. He is the son of Jám Meher Alí, who died much regretted. A love of justice, and a spirit of moderation, endeared him to his subjects. In the field he proved able, and, at the request of the government of Kalât, undertook, with the levies of his own tribes and immediate allies, an expedition against the refractory leaders of Kej, in which he acquitted himself with credit. The father of Jám Meher Alí was Jám Meher Khân, who for many years presided at the helm of affairs in Las. His reputation, as a man of ability and comprehensive views, stands fair, but it is remembered of him, that he placed no check upon his passions, and in their

gratification scrupled not to compromise the honours of the wives and daughters of his subjects, whether Hindú or Máhomedan. Las was anciently ruled by the Rúnjah tribe; amongst whom one Sappar became famous. His descendants were dispossessed by the Gúngahs, whose two latter chiefs were Jám Dínár and Jám Ibráhím. These, in turn, were compelled to yield to Jám Alí, of the Jámhút tribe, which must have been after the year 1046 of the hejira, as a seal of Jám Ibrahím is still shown at Bélá with that date, and the legend Banda Bádshâh Alam, Jám Ibráhím ben Jám Dínár. The first Jám Alí was succeeded by Jám Rúbana, who slew his brother, the son-in-law of the Ammallárí Búlfat chief, who seized upon Las in resentment. Párah Khân and Izzat Khân, Búlfat chiefs, succeeded each other; but the latter was so cruel and oppressive, that Jám Alí, a descendant of the expelled Rúbana of the Jámhút tribe, applied to Mohábat Khân of Kalât, and by his aid regained Las; whence arose the connexion between the two countries. From this Jám Alí the present chief is regularly descended.

The Lúmrís are willing that the stranger should believe, that the military strength of Las amounts to twelve thousand men. Jám Meher Alí, in his expedition to Kej, it is said, carried with him four thousand men, comprising his own and auxiliary forces. It may be supposed that he made extraordinary efforts, which were seconded by his popu-

larity at home and abroad. In 1831 the Vakíl Allá Rika, with a force of four hundred men, was in coöperation with the army of Kalât in Kej, and a body of three hundred men had been placed at the disposal of the Arab chief of Maskât, to serve, as mercenaries, in his armament against Mambása, —a mode of employment frequently adopted with the levies in Las.

The revenue of Las, under Jám Meher Alí was computed to exceed forty thousand rupees; but at present it does not equal twenty-five thousand, while it is expected to suffer farther depression. This revenue arises from the customs payable on merchandise entering the port of Súnmiání, the duties charged on produce brought to the towns, or bazár villages, and the taxes on trades, crafts, &c. The Lúmri peasantry may be considered exempt from imposts, as the sums they contribute on the sale of their produce in towns, in fact, form so many charges upon trade, and are borne by the purchaser or consumer. The more profitable branch of the revenue, is that arising from customs on foreign goods, and they are levied at a fixed rate, depending on weight. This arrangement was made by Jám Meher Khân, to encourage merchants to repair to Súnmiání, in preference to Karáchí; and it was farther agreed to wave the right of search, so vexatiously resorted to by the Sindian officers. The consequences were soon manifested by the number of merchants frequenting Las, and

the beneficial effect on its revenue. Latterly, however, the governments of Kalât and Las, growing enfeebled, the hill tribes between Béla and Khozdâr extort so grossly from kâfilas, under pretence of levying duty, that Afghân merchants, with heavy goods, are compelled to go to Karáchí. Chintzes, muslins, and high-priced goods, bearing a large profit, still find their way from Bombay to Kândahâr by the road of Béla and Kalât. Horses are also usually shipped at Súnmiání for Bombay, as on them the tribes exact no duty. Madder, a staple article of export from Kalât and Afghânistân, is always carried *viâ* Sind; even the portion destined for sale in Las, is sent by land from Karáchí. The products of the province have been already noted; with the fisheries, they contribute to a brisk intercourse between Súnmiání and the harbours of Sind, and generally of the line of coast from the mouths of the Indus to Bombay, as well as with the ports of Mekrân and Maskát.

The only towns—calling those places such which have chabútras, or offices to receive customs and duties—are Béla, Utal, and Súnmiání. Its only villages, esteeming those such which boast of mud dwellings, are Líárí, Shékh-ka-ráj, Osmán dí Gote, Wáriara, Phor, Traiárí, &c. Besides these there are various assemblages of Lúmri huts, in most of which are found two, three, or four Hindus. Béla, the capital, is a small town of about three hundred houses. In native histories it is called Kâra Béla;

and, however long it may have represented the capital of this part of the country, it seems to have been preceded, in the middle ages, by another town, the site of which, or rather of its sepulchres, is pointed out about five miles westward; where at this day coins and trinkets are occasionally found. Funereal jars are also brought to light, filled with ashes, charcoal, and other incinerated substances. In the nearest point of the contiguous hills, separating Las from Jhow, are found numerous caves, and rock temples, ascribed by tradition to Ferhâd and fairies, but which more sober judgment recognizes as the earthly resting abodes of the former chiefs, or governors of the province. They prove, moreover, the extension to the coast of that faith whose excavated records exist over so large a part of the world.

Súnmíání is a town of about a thousand houses. It has a good-sized bazar, and a good number of Hindú traders and artisans. There are also many families of Mehmans, as they would call themselves, or Lútías, as styled by the Lúmrís. Amongst them are two or three opulent merchants; and all of them are in easy circumstances. Professing themselves Máhomedans, they are not considered orthodox; and, together with the Hindús, they engross the foreign and internal trade of the country. Besides the Méds, who form a portion of the maritime and fishing classes, there is at Súnmíání, also at Béla, a part of the fixed population called, by the

Lúmris, Jadghâl. Considerable numbers of negro slaves are always to be found at Súnmiáni, both in employ as well as for sale. Scarcely a family is without one or more of those negroes; and Hindús are permitted to purchase them as freely as others. They are brought from Maskát, and from Súnmiáni are dispersed amongst the Lúmris of the country, and even so far as Kalât. The Mehman merchants entirely conduct this traffic.

The harbour of Súnmiáni is spacious, but, unfortunately, a bar of sand impedes the entrance, and the accumulating mass bids fair to close it. The sea gains upon the land, and the present town will, in no great space of time, be replaced by another, more distant from the shore. At Súnmiáni coarse calicoes are printed, and there are many mills for the extraction of oil from mustard-seed. They are precisely on the same construction as sugar-mills, but worked by camels in lieu of oxen.

The eruptive disorder on the teats of cows, producing the vaccine disease, is well known in Las; equally so is the fact, that those who have received this disorder from the cow are not liable to the contagion of variola. The disease is denominated *poto-ghow*, or the cow small-pox, *poto* being the Lúmri as well as Baloch designation for small-pox. But what is still more singular is, that the camel as well as the cow has an eruption on her nipples, producing similar effects to the vaccine; and, as in this country camels' milk is largely made use of for



the sustenance of man, it is ascertained that those who in milking a diseased animal contract what is called the poto-shúter, or camel small-pox, become also inaccessible to variolous contagion, equally with those who receive the analogous disease from the cow. I was assured that no fatal results were ever known to follow from either of these potos, from the vaccine or the cameline; and that the symptoms were exactly as in the English disease, confined to a sprinkling of pimples on the hands and arms.

## HORMARA.

A small town and port of Mekrán, containing about four hundred houses, which for some years has placed itself under the protection of the jám of Las, to avoid being reduced by the Arab chief of Maskát. It receives governors on the part of the jám, and a nett sum of one thousand rupees is annually remitted to Béla, as revenue and the price of protection. This little place has a smart trade with the interior, and its shipping frequent the same foreign harbours as the craft of Súnmiání. The country, for seven or eight days' journey in every direction from Hormára, is of the most sterile and uninviting aspect, yet, in particular spots, are inhabitants located, leading a weary existence in the solitudes around them, but contented, because ignorant of better fortune. On the skirts of the

Jabal Malân, a range which presses on the coast between the limits of Las and Hormára, a tribe of inferior consideration, called Gújar, have fixed their seats. Nearer, at a locality named Garúkí, the Sangúr, another tribe of small repute, reside under their chief, Mír Bájár. On the shores of the Kalamat creek, west of Hormára, dwell a tribe deriving their appellation, it may be, from the place; although they believe they came originally from Sind, where, they assert, the tribe still exists in formidable numbers.

## PESSANI.

A small port, of two hundred houses, still farther west, dependent on which is the country on the coast between the limits of Hormára and those of Gwâdar. Its chief is Mehráb Khân, of the Kalamatí tribe just noted. He pays no tribute to Las or Kalât, but contrives to avoid the acknowledgment of supremacy to Maskát, by pretending to be a member of the Baloch federation. It must be conceded, his little town and territory are barely worth the coveting. The maritime and fishing population of the little ports on the coast of Mekrân, from Súnmiání to Charbár, are denominated Méd, and comprise four divisions, the Gazbúr, Hormarí, Jellar Zai, and Chelmar Zai.

## THIRD, OR CENTRAL SECTION.

Includes the provinces of Sahárawân and Jhálawân, with the intermediate districts of the capital. The latter, except in situation, are perfectly independent of the former. In reviewing their position, convenience prescribes their union. The same consideration induces me to comprise amongst the districts of Sahárawân that of Shâll, which may not strictly be said to belong to them, although, since it has been placed under the Kalât government, it has been virtually annexed to the province.

## SAHARAWAN.

The more northern of the central provinces, blends its confines with the Afghân districts dependent on Kândahár. Computing from the north, to the borders of Jhálawân, it has an extent of above one hundred miles; and its breadth, from east to west, although a little varying, will, in general, nearly average the same distance. To the north, it connects itself with the Afghân districts of Peshing and of Toba; to the south, it runs into the province of Jhálawân, encircling the little nucleus of the capital with its environs. To the east, parallel ranges of hills, a formidable barrier, separate it from Dádar and Kach Gandâvá. Tra-

versing these ranges, and in a direction exactly contrary to them, is a range marking the course of the Bolan river, and the line of the celebrated pass, leading from the Dasht Bídowlat to Dádar, the great route of communication between the western Afghân provinces and the countries opening on the Indus. To the west, a series of high hills, although distant, preserving their parallelism to the preceding, divide the province from the Afghân districts of Shoráwak, and from the Baloch province of Núshkí. West of Sháll and Mastúg is the Afghân district of Sherrúd, which, it must be noted, while amongst the inferior hills, is east of the principal chain. This chain extends far north, forming the western boundary of Peshing, and is called the Khwojá Amrán mountain. The eastern range, while, perhaps, without any general name, has a multitude of local appellations. Where it overlooks Kalât, it is called Arbúi, and the superior range, frowning on the plains of Kach Gandâvá, is called Takárí. Other peaks have the names Nágow, Bohár, &c.

Excepting the Bolan, Sahárawân may be said to have no rivers. A few slender rivulets and torrents, transient and partial, are found only scantily distributed over its wide surface. To compensate this deficiency, a cool temperature, the result of elevation, is favourable to vegetation; and allows the soil to retain, for a sufficient period, the moisture supplied by the vernal rains, as generally to

ensure good harvests of grain. Owing to the same kindly causes, the hills and plains are covered, in the spring and summer, with a profusion of flowers and herbage, yielding copious and admirable nourishment to the numerous flocks of sheep, which constitute the primary wealth of the Bráhúí tribes.

1. Sahárawân, then, includes the district of Sháll, with its villages and dependencies of Ispangalí, Kúchílak, Samangúlí, Berg, Bíníghóh, &c.

2. Mastúng, with its dependencies of Feringabád, Tírí, Khânak, Dolai, and Kénittí.

3. Mangachar, comprising the divisions of Zard, Kúr, Mandé Hájí, Kirch-ab, and Baréchí-nav. To these may be added Khad.

4. Kalât, with its neighbouring villages and dependencies of Skalkoh, Níchára, Chappar, Dasht Gúrân, &c.

5. Kirta, and the petty districts in the hills between Sahárawân and Kach Gandâvâ.

6. Gúrghína, Kúrdígap, Nimarg, &c., districts in the hills east of the Khwoja Amrân range.

## SHALL.

The most northern of the districts of Sahárawân, was ceded to Nasír Khân by Ahmed Shâh, the first Dúrání sovereign, in reward for his military services in the Persian wars. It embraces many small divisions and villages, as Siríâb, Ahmed Khân Zai, Karâní, Ispangalí, Noshahâr, Berg, Kúchílâk,

Samangúlí, &c. To the north, Sháll extends to the Khâka districts of Toba; to the south, it joins the district of Mastúng, and the plain called Dasht Bídowlat; to the east, it has the Khâka district of Hanna; to the west, Peshing and Sherrúd, belonging to Afghân tribes.

The capital of the district, called Sháll by the Baloches, and Quetta, an equivalent for kot, or fort, by the Afghâns, is a small town of about four hundred houses. It has a good bazar, and is the most considerable place between Kalât and Kândahár, and also between Kalât and Ghazní. It is surrounded by a crenated wall of some height, but inadequate, from its slight substance, to offer opposition to artillery. On a lofty mound within the walls is a ruinous citadel, which yet affords a residence to the governor of the town.

The Khâka district of Hanna to the west is considered under the government of Sháll, as are other Khâka districts to the north towards Toba. The submission of these Afghâns must be very equivocal, a furious blood-feud existing between the Afghâns and Baloches. One of the two gates of Sháll, opening upon the east, is named after Hanna, the other fronting the south is named the gate of Mastúng.

The soil here is rich and black, yielding much wheat and rice, besides madder, some tobacco, and the cultivated grasses. The orchards are abundant, apparently of recent growth, and furnish grapes,

apples, pears, plums, peaches, apricots, mulberries, pomegranates, figs, &c. As usual, in these countries, large fields are devoted to the cultivation of melons, in their season. The climate is praised, and I judged it salubrious and equable. Snow falls, and remains on the ground for above two months, when it is customary for the small Baloch garrison to retire to Dádar, leaving the inhabitants to their own protection.

The Afghâns resident in Shâll and its villages are of the Kâssí tribe; and claim affinity with the great Safí clans. The whole fixed population will scarcely amount to four thousand. In the spring and summer, numerous Bráhuí tomâns range over its plains.

## MASTUNG.

Includes, besides the town of Mastúg, the dependent villages and districts of Faringabád, Tíri, Khânak, Dolai, Kénittí, &c. It is bounded, to the north, by the lofty mountain Chehel Tan, separating it from the valley of Shâll; to the south by the districts of Mangachar and Khad. On the east, a range of hill, a prolongation of inferior altitude from Chehel Tan, intervenes between it and the Dasht Bídowlat; and on the west another range divides it from the Afghân valley of Sherrud.

Mastúg is celebrated for the salubrity of its climate, and for the abundance and excellence of its

fruits. The cultivated soil is very fertile, and the produce is ample, and of good quality. Madder, grown in large quantities, is an annual export, as is tobacco, which is much prized. Besides the various grains, rice, and the artificial grasses, are cultivated. The fruits of Mastúg embrace all the varieties noted as being produced by the orchards of Sháll, but they are in far greater profusion, and in general have a superior flavour; the temperature being milder, and more favourable to the maturity of many kinds. The mulberries and melons of Mastúg are held to be unrivalled, and almonds are so abundant as to be an article of export.

The climate of Mastúg, Tíri, and Faringabád is entitled to great commendation; Khânak, in the same plain, but with a depressed site, is not equally favoured. The town of Mastúg may contain about four hundred houses, and is surrounded with a crenated mud wall. On a mound within the limits of the town are the remains of a citadel, destroyed, it is said, by Ahmed Shâh. The present town is affirmed to represent the ancient city of Arangabád, whose site is pointed out a little to the east or north-east, and on which, after rains, coins, and other evidences, may be occasionally discovered. The walled-in village of Tíri may occupy as much space as Mastúg, but with half the number of habitations, the greater part of the enclosed area being filled with orchards. At Tíri resides an influential



family of saiyads, one of whom, Saiyad Sheríf, was mainly the cause of the insinuation of Síkh troops into Hárand and Dájil, and has become infamously notorious in the recent events which have convulsed Balochistân. Faringabád is an advantageously-seated village, amid orchards, under the hills over which the direct road leads from Mastúng to Sháll. It may contain one hundred and fifty houses.

Khânak has a village of similar appellation, seated on a large tappa or mound; consequently the site is ancient. It contains about one hundred houses, and dependent on it are three or four small hamlets. Kénittí has a small village, now nearly depopulated. Dolai, to the north of Khânak, has no village.

No Afghâns dwell in Mastúng; some of the fixed inhabitants are Dehwârs, but with them are incorporated many Bráhuís of various tribes. Of these the principal are the Raisání, Sherwâní, Máhmúd Shâhí, Bangúl Zai, and Lárí, with the Sirperra. The favourable site and climate of Mastúng has recommended it as a residence to most of the chiefs of the Bráhuí tribes of Sahárawân. The fixed population of Mastúng, and its dependencies, will not, probably, exceed six thousand.

## MANGACHAR.

A division of Sahárawân, to the north, touching on the limits of Kénittí and Khad; to the south

extending to the borders of Chappar, Garúk, and Kárez Garâní, dependent on the capital. To the east, hill-ranges separate it from the petty localities of Kúhak, Kishân, &c.; and, to the west, other hills divide it from Gúrghína. It is subdivided into the quarters of Zard to the north, Mandéh Hâjí occupying the centre chiefly; Kúr, to the west; Kirch-âb, east of Kúr and trending towards Chappar, with Bâréchí-nav stretching eastward to the base of a mountain, called Koh Márân, or the hill of snakes.

Mangachar has a few dispersed hamlets. There may exist on the plain from ten to twelve artificial tappas or mounds, which, covered with fragments of potters' ware, testify to an ancient population. These evidences are not inconsistent with the fertility and natural advantages of the plain; which are considerable, as to the quality of soil and the abundance of water. There are at present canals of irrigation, and subterranean aqueducts. The parts better supplied with water are Mandéh Hâjí, and Zard, which accordingly produce in greater quantities wheat and the cultivated grasses. The other parts of Mangachar have also their canals of irrigation, but fewer in number, and the culture is restricted to wheat. The whole plain is intersected by bands, or ramparts of earth, intended to preserve the rain-water for purposes of irrigation. There are many breeding mares kept on the plain of Mangachar, and it is usual for the horse-dealers of Kalât

to send their cattle there to feed upon the choicer grasses. The soil is of the same rich and ponderous quality as that of Kalât, but much of the surface is impaired by impregnation with saline particles. The plain has a very dreary and bleak aspect, owing to the absence of trees. Many single and ruinous mud huts are sprinkled here and there; and the tomâns, or collections of black tents, on the skirts of the hills, or interspersed over the plain, have in themselves a repulsive and unsocial appearance. A few trees only are to be found at Zard, where there is also a good orchard belonging to Dhâi Bîbû, an ancient lady of Kalât; and this is certainly the portion of the plain preferable as to position.

Khad is the name given to a lengthened valley between Mangachar and Mastúng, through which the high road leads from Kalât to the north. On the east it has the first of the three parallel ranges stretching to Kach Gandâvá, which is remarkable for displaying to the west inclined surfaces of rock, as smooth as if a trowel had been passed over the masses when plastic. On the west, the hills called Chotoh divide it from Kénittí and Zard. Khad has no village. It is computed nine Súltânía cosses from Kalât, agreeably to some traditionary admeasurement. By the same standard, Mangachar is reckoned five, and Mastúng twelve Súltânía cosses from the capital. Khad is claimed by the Sherwâní tribe of Bráhuís.

## DASHT BIDOWLAT.

Before quitting the northern divisions of Sahárawân, it is due to notice the Dasht Bídowlat, or the Unpropitious Plain. To the north it has Sir-i-âb of Shâll, Zir Koh, and the Khâka hills. To the south, hills divide it from Merv and Isprinjí. To the east it has the hills of the Bolan, and to the west, Chehel Tan and the lower ranges of Mastúg. Whether traversed from Shâll or Mastúg, it is a good march in breadth, nor is its length less considerable. Its evil name is appropriate only after the harvests have been collected, and the supplies of water have been exhausted, when it is deserted by its temporary residents. Then it is that predatory bands of Khâkas roam over the desolate space and infest its roads, to the peril of travellers and kâfilas. In the spring its aspect is very different, and the Bráhuís are enthusiastic in their descriptions of its verdure and flowers. Its surface, garnished with the lâlá, or tulip, presents, they aver, an expanse of scarlet and gold, and the perfume that impregnates the atmosphere exhilarates the senses to intoxication. In that season it swarms with the tománs of the Kúrd Bráhuí tribe, who are proprietors of the plain, and reap its produce, but retire as soon as it is collected, to Merv.

## KALAT AND ITS ENVIRONS.

For convenience, we have included Kalât and its environs amongst the districts of Sahárawân, although they form a distinct and independent tract, under the personal jurisdiction of the khân, or chief of the Baloch community. The town of Kalât, containing within its walls about four hundred houses, and a mírí, or palace, of an antique and imposing appearance, with suburbs comprising other four hundred houses, is situated in a narrow valley, bounded to the east by the hill ranges so often mentioned as extending to Kach Gandâvá. To the west, beyond the hill Shâh Mirdân, on the northern extremity of which the town is built, broken country and ravines extend for a considerable distance. From the town to the opposite hills, to the east, the distance is within a mile, and this confined space, traversed by the generally dry and stony bed of a hill torrent, is appropriated to the cultivation and gardens of the place. To the south of Kalât the valley closes, or is filled by low hills; to the north it somewhat expands, and affords space for the small villages of Garúk, Malarkí, Malgozár, &c. Farther north is the small hamlet of Gárâni, and nearly west of it, the village of Zíárat.

About three miles north-east of Kalât, crossing the first hills, is the village of Skalkoh, walled in, and made up of one hundred houses, inhabited by

the Sherwâní tribe. About fifteen miles south-east of Kalât, also amongst the hills, is the larger village, or small bazár town of Níchára (Noshahár). Seated in a fertile valley, it has much cultivation. About nine miles to the south of Kalât is the small village of Rodinjo, on the road to Jhálawân. It may have twenty houses. On the skirts of the hills east of Rodinjo, and extending to Sohráb, are two or three hamlets; and within them is the village of Máhoméd Taháwar, walled in, with two gates and one hundred houses. About three miles east of Rodinjo is the village of Tok, with thirty houses, and walled in.

Chappar is an extensive plain, west of Kalât. To the north it unites with Kúr and Kirchâb, districts of Mangachar; to the south it extends to the Dasht Gúrân. On the west it has hill ranges of little altitude, until they sink upon the Síáh Koh, or black mountain. Here are no towns or villages, but there are the ample indications of a former population in the fragments of potters' ware distributed over an immense space. The plain is supplied with water by a rivulet issuing from the low hills east of Káréz Garâní, and which, flowing by Garúk and Zíárat, enters Chappar. Considerable quantities of melons are raised here for the Kalât market. The fields are crown property, and the fruits mature some time after those grown in the vicinity of the capital have been consumed. The

Dasht Gúrân, south of Chappar, has beyond it Sohráb, to the east Rodinjo, and to the west a waste and broken country, extending to Khárân. Here is a small village of fifteen to twenty houses, and the cultivation, entirely on the lands called khúshk âwâh, is confined to wheat. This plain is inhabited by the Súnáris, a branch of the Zehrî tribe of Jhálawân, to whose sirdár they are obedient on questions of general interest, but, for sufferance of settlement, make an annual acknowledgment to the sirdár of Núshkí, whose tribe preceded them in the occupancy of the dasht, and who still claim it. Dasht Gúrân signifies the plain of wild asses, but those animals are no longer found there.

The population of Kalât is necessarily mixed; with many Déhwârs there are many Bráhuís, a great number of Hindús, and a large proportion of slaves. The entire suburbs are inhabited by Afghâns. The agricultural classes are nearly exclusively Déhwârs. In this Memoir, in enumerating the towns, or villages, in the respective parts of the country under notice, I have mentioned nearly the whole of them, for they are really so few in number that to do so is an easy matter. I incur the chance of being accused of noting places unworthy of record, but besides that there are no other than these places, I wished to afford data for exhibiting the numbers of the fixed population. I have before estimated that

of Sháll and Mastúng, and by the same mode of calculation, that of Kalât and its environs will not exceed fourteen thousand.

DISTRICTS IN THE HILLS BETWEEN SAHARAWAN AND  
KACH GANDAVA.

We have frequently had occasion to allude to the hill ranges between the elevated province of Sahárawân and the depressed level plains of Kach Gandáva. Formed of three parallel chains, and extending north far beyond the limits of Sahárawân, they enclose numerous sheltered and fertile valleys. From the universality of rice as a product of them, an abundance of copious and perennial springs and rivulets must be inferred. To the excellence of the herbage and pasturage, and the adaptation of the hills for the grazing of sheep, the superior meat and fleece of the Bráhuí flocks amply testify. Although very scantily inhabited, there are still amongst them some fixed villages, and there are many localities tenanted by pastoral tribes.

The eastern portion adjacent to Kach Gandáva is inhabited by petty Rind tribes, or detachments therefrom, and the western portion is held by Bráhuí tribes. The Rinds, it may be observed, in matters of public interest, are supposed to follow the decision of the sirdár of Sahárawân. The direction of these parallel chains of mountains is from north by



east to south by west ; in the parallel of Shâll, a range cutting through them nearly east to west marks the course of the Bolan river and pass, and describes the boundary between the hills of the Khâkâ Afghâns and the Baloches. In the pass is a zîarat of some repute, called Bîbí Nânî, and about the centre of it, immediately north of the river, is the small walled-in Baloch village of Kirta, inhabited by the Kúchik branch of the Rind tribe. Contiguous thereto is a tepid spring, which confers the name of Garm-âb on the locality whence it issues. Kirta has been frequently sacked by the Khâkâs. Of the many localities amongst these hills, such as have villages are Johân, belonging to the Púzh Rinds, and deemed fertile in wheat and rice. Rodbár, said to be extensive, and comprising three villages ; Rodbár, held by Mandawârî Rinds ; Jam, held by Kúchík Rinds ; and Bárarî, inhabited by Puzh Rinds. Rodbár has a vigorous cultivation of rice and grain, and its numerous orchards yield pomegranates of fair quality. Kájúrí, occupied by the Púzh Rinds, has a village of the same name, and, like the other valleys, yields rice abundantly. Ghazg is another valley, with a village of similar name. It has orchards and vineyards, and the grapes are highly prized at Kalât. It belongs to the Ghazghís, a petty Bráhúí tribe. Besides these valleys which have villages, there are many others, some of them extensive and fertile, which afford a residence to various tribes, whose genius and mode of life dis-

qualify them for permanent settlement and fixed abodes. Such are Merv, held by the Kúrd; Isprinjí, by the Bangúl Zais; Kúhak, by the Máhmúd Shâhís; Nermúk, represented as large, inhabited by the Lári Bráhuís; Lúp, belonging to the Kâlúi branch of Rinds; Kishân, held by the Sherwânís, with Pizai, Lâlájí, Sohráb, &c., places of little note, and sometimes visited by small tribes. The fixed population of the several villages dispersed over the tract under consideration will not, probably, exceed two thousand five hundred.

#### DISTRICTS IN THE HILLY TRACTS WEST OF SAHARAWAN.

To complete the review of Sahárawân, it remains to notice the districts in the western hills. They are Gúrghína, Kúrdígap, Nímarg, Ashí Khân, and Púdén. They lie to the west of Mangachar, a hill range intervening, having Sherrúd of the Afghâns to the north, and to the south, waste, hilly regions. Kúrdígap is the most northern district, and the only one which has a village, and that a small one; Gúrghína is south of Kúrdígap, and Nímarg is again south of it; while Ashí Khân and Púdén are to the west of both. As in Mangachar, so in these districts are many dams, or artificial mounds. The valleys are not so well supplied with water, and the river, or rivulet, of Sherrúd flows uselessly through the hills. Cultivation is effected

by aid of mounds of earth, or bands, to confine the water from rains, and it is asserted that, in Gúrghína, there are above three hundred of them, a number, if exaggerated, yet showing that they are numerous. It is notorious that the cultivation of this and of other districts of Sahárawân, is not carried on to the extent their capabilities would allow; an evil arising, perhaps, mainly from their being held by pastoral races, who depend for their subsistence rather upon their flocks than upon their fields. So jealous are the several tribes of what they consider their peculiar property, that they will in no wise permit the settlement of others. This remark particularly applies to the Sirperras, who scantily inhabit the districts under notice, the Kúrds, possessing the spacious plain of the Dasht Bîdowlat, the Shervânís, who hold Khad, and the Raisánís, who suffer the rich lands of Dolai and Khânak to lie waste. In comparison with other Bráhúí tribes, the Sirperras are not considered wealthy. They formerly paid attention to the collection of assafœtida, but of late years the plants have failed in quantity. The appellation Gúrghína, is understood to relate to the wild ass, called Gúr; but the animal, believed formerly to have abounded in these parts, is not now found. He, however, still ranges in the level wastes beyond Núshkí. The districts of Ashí Khân and Púdén, west of Gúrghína, are inhabited by the Rodaní branch of the Sirperra tribe. The fixed population of the

lands held by the Sirperras will not exceed three hundred.

From the estimates we have made, it would appear that Sahárawân does not contain thirteen thousand fixed inhabitants, while the capital and its environs has about fourteen thousand. The amount of the pastoral tribes of Sahárawân is more difficult to guess, but it can hardly be imagined to exceed, if it equal, that of the fixed part of the community. Supposing it equal, we have about twenty-six thousand for the population of Sahárawân; or, if in estimating the number of fixed inhabitants, I have, in calculating five to a house, taken too low a rate, let six be allowed, and we shall not be able to raise the entire population above thirty thousand. The pastoral races in the neighbourhood of Kalât cannot be conceded on any account to equal one half of the fixed population, and in taking them at six thousand, the estimate, no doubt, is too high; but doing so, for the sake of arriving at an amount, we have twenty thousand for the population of the capital and vicinity. If we reflect on the extent of country over which this amount of human life is dispersed, we must be conscious how trifling the latter appears in contrast with the former. It is within the truth, and also for the sake of approximate calculation, to consider the countries in question as covering a square surface of one hundred miles, and containing, therefore, an area of ten thousand

square miles. The population of fifty thousand distributed over this space, gives but five souls to every square mile; nor need we be surprised at so low a result, when we reflect that entire marches may be made in the country without a solitary human being presenting himself to the observation of the traveller. It is instructive at all times to analyze the population of countries; but particularly so when the inhabitants are prone to exaggeration. Experience has convinced me that the population of Oriental countries has been much overrated.

## JHALAWAN.

Includes the countries stretching in a southerly direction between Kalât and the maritime province of Las. To the west, barren tracts intervening, it has the provinces of Múshkí, Khárân, and Kolwah. To the east, the prolongation of the great mountain chains of Sahárawân divides it from the territories of Sind and the valley of the Indus. In this lengthened tract of country considerable variety in the climate and productions is apparent: to Bâghwân it partakes of the temperate character of Sahárawân; south of that place it is much warmer, and its natural indications assimilate with those of more tropical countries. To Bâghwân, also, the descent from the elevated plateau of Sahárawân is, while decided, yet gradual. Beyond it, or at Wad, a broad

belt of hills is entered ; emerging from which, after descending the pass, or lak of Barân, by the defile of Koharn Wât, the level plains of Las are gained on the margin of the ocean.

Jhálawân comprises the districts of Sohráb, Zehrí, Bâghwân, Khozdár, Zídí, Kappar, Wad, Náll, and the hills of the Minghals, Bízúnjús, and Samaláris.

In the narratives of journeys from Súnmiání to Kalât I have, in traversing many of the districts of this province, noted the little that is to be said about them, and it would be needless repetition to reinsert that little here. The district of Zehrí lying out of our route, came not within the range of observation ; but it merits notice both because it is comparatively fertile and populous, and that it is the residence of the sirdár, or lord of Jhálawân. It lies about forty miles south of Kalât, and immediately north of the Múllöh river. Of a warmer climate than Kalât, and copiously supplied with rivulets, its cultivation of the several varieties of grain and pulse is vigorous. It has several villages, as Jagasúr, Nográm, Mishk, Búlbúl, Ghat, &c. Neighbours to Zehrí on the east and north-east, are the Jetaks, a rather numerous tribe, and dependent on it.

If we apply the same calculations to Jhálawân as we have done to the northern province, relative to its population, we shall again be surprised at the low results we gain. The fixed population of the various, but still few little towns, villages, and hamlets, cannot be allowed to exceed ten thousand.

The pastoral tribes in this province are superior in numbers, the great tribes of Míngghals and Bízúnjús giving them an obvious preponderance. If, for the sake of an approximate result, we go so far as to suppose them to double the amount of the fixed population, we have about thirty thousand inhabitants for the extensive tracts of Jhálawân, which spread over a larger space than those of Sahárawân, as they certainly have twice the length from north to south, and generally about the same breadth.

#### FOURTH, OR EASTERN SECTION.

Comprises the large province of Kach Gandâva, with Hárând and Dájil, bordering on and west of the river Indus. This tract of country, while under the same parallels of latitude as Sahárawân, for Bâgh is nearly due west of Kalât, from its depressed level, has altogether a different climate. So, also, are its vegetable productions distinguished by varying features.

#### KACH GANDAVA.

The principal characteristics of this province are, its large extent of level surface, its excessively sultry climate, which has become proverbial, its scarcity of water for agricultural purposes, which restricts its cultivation, both as to quantity and

variety, and comparatively with other parts of the khân of Kalât's territories, its large amount of population, with abundance of towns and villages.

It is inhabited by three very distinctly marked races; the Jets, the Rinds (including the Magghazzís), and the Bráhuís. The Jets are undoubtedly the primitive inhabitants, the Rinds are more recent settlers, and the Bráhuís have acquired a permanent interest in the province only since the time of Nádir Shâh.

The capital of Kach Gandâva is Gandâva, which we are told is more correctly named Ganjâva, from some allusion to ganj, or treasure. It is a walled town, and frequently the winter residence of the khân. It is small, and without trade, deriving its little importance from its being deemed the ancient as well as modern capital. Bâgh is a much larger town, and will always be of some consequence, being situated on the high road of traffic from Shikárpúr to the north. Formerly decidedly the commercial capital of the province, it has declined of late years; many of the Hindú bankers who once resided in it, having transported themselves and their business to Kótrú, a town held by the Eltârz Zai branch of the reigning family, where they are exempt from the annoying interference of the khân of Kalât's ill-controlled officers. Bâgh contains above six hundred houses, is surrounded by crenated mud walls, has a fair bazar, and a governor on behalf of the khân. It is the mart for the sale of



sulphur, extracted from the mines of Súní. Seated on the bank of the Nárí river, its inhabitants are perplexed by the scarcity of water, when the bed of the stream is dry. Water derived from wells is too saline to be used as a beverage. The neighbourhood is well cultivated. Besides júárí, the cotton plant and sugar cane are grown. Kótrú, or the Castles, are four castles or forts, built by four brothers of the Eltárz Zai family, just noted. Of them, the one held by Kerim Khân, has become flourishing, and a town of consequence. It is north of Jell and west of Gandâva. Between Bâgh and Gandâva, is the town of Nasírabád, built by Nasír Khân, which has a governor on the part of the khân.

Under the lofty ridges of Sahárawân, defining the province to the west, are a variety of towns, held by Rind tribes; as Súní, Súrân, Ghájân, Kanára, Kárí, &c., with Kótrú, just mentioned; and farther south, Jell and Shádiá, belonging to the Magghazzís. Most of these places are watered by springs and rivulets from the hills. Súní has a rivulet flowing from Koh Nághow. Another, called Shorín, flows to Kotrú. The Bâdrah runs by Gandâva, while the Múllöh, a more considerable stream, enters the plain between Kótrú and Jell. On the opposite side of the plain, and east of Dádar, are again hills. These intervene between the province and Hárând and Dájil, immediately on the great river, the Indus. At their foot, on the Kach Gandâva side, are the towns of Máhoméd Reza, Faizar

Khân, Lehrí, Búghtí, Púlají, Chattar, Gúnárí, Shahár Islámpúr, &c. These are held by lawless tribes of Rinds, as the Jakránís, Dúmbakís, Búghtís, Marrís, &c. Nearly through the centre of the province winds the Nárí river. Rising in the hills near Toba, north of Sháll, it flows through the Khâkâ district of Borah, and then into the Afghân district of Síwí, from which it enters the plain of Kach Gandâva to the east of Dádar. It now winds by Noshára, Bakra, and Mítarí, towns of the Raisání Bráhuís, and thence passing Irí and Hâjí Shahár, flows by Bâgh. From Bâgh, its course leads to Tambú, a town of the Rinds, where it falls upon the Pat, or Waste, of Shikárpúr. When it has an excess of water, it is said to be enabled to traverse the Pat; in that case, at Gharí Khairah, a hold of the Jamâlí Rinds, falling into a canal from the Indus. This river has a large number of villages on its banks. From its entrance upon the plain to Bâgh it has about sixty, and from Bâgh to Tambú, I have the names of fifty-five villages. These villages are chiefly inhabited by the Jet population, who possess the centre, as the intrusive tribes occupy the skirts of the province. Between Bâgh and Mítarí are the towns or villages of Maisar, Búghtí, Rústam, Shahár Dowlat, Shahár Jelâl Khân, &c., &c.

The grains most extensively cultivated in this province are júarí and bájra, which appear to be adapted to a dry soil. In the better and manured

lands near towns, the cotton-plant and sugar-cane are objects of attention. The júárí has two varieties, indiscriminately growing on the same space, one distinguished by its sweet stem, and eaten as sugar-cane.

The natural productions of Kach Gandâva are very limited; a few saline plants vegetate on its bare plains, and a belt of jangal intervening between Hâjí Shahár and Bâgh is composed of stunted mimosas and bér trees. The vicinities of towns and villages are distinguished by groves of the same trees, but of more stately growth. At Gandâva, which has long been noted as the abode of the great of the land, are gardens, where orange, lime, and, I believe, mango trees thrive. The spirit of the Eltarz Zai family of Kótrú has, in like manner, embellished its environs with gardens. Dádar in the north of the provinces has also its gardens, and pomegranates of their growth are prized. Groves of date trees enliven the appearance of this town, and dense belts of these trees appear to extend along the skirts of the hills to the eastward.

The climate of Kach Gandâva is so oppressive from April to August, that communications are nearly suspended, and travelling is attended with great risk, from the hot winds, which sweep over the parched, arid plains, with fatal violence. No less terrific are the emanations emitted from the heated surface of the soil.

Between this province and the domain of Shi-

kárpúr stretches a barren, naked tract, known as the Pat of Shikárpúr. It is between thirty and forty miles across. Not a tree or shrub vegetates on this expanse. No water is found to supply the necessities of the traveller. With a level below that of the upper parts of the province, it receives the drainage of their waters in certain seasons. As suddenly as the fluid precipitates itself upon the surface, so is it suddenly imbibed by the thirsty soil. It has been the scene of infamous depredations, being considered neutral ground, as it is the boundary between the possessions of Kalât and Sind in this direction. Westward it extends to the superior hills, and separates the lands of the Magghazzís, subjects of Kalât, from those of the Chándí tribe, dependent on Sind.

In the hill ranges east of the plain of Kachí, and intervening between it and the provinces of Hárاند and Dájil, are the abodes of the Doda Marrís, who have been there located above three centuries. Their principal town, Kâhan, has become memorable in our days through its occupation and abandonment by British troops, as well as by the disasters and losses it involved. The Marrís have long been distinguished as daring depredators, and have proved themselves to be a brave race. The Doda are but a division of the great Marrí tribe, which is widely dispersed.

## HARAND AND DAJIL.

These provinces border on the river Indus, having on the north, the district of Déra Ghází Khân, and to the south that held by the Mazárís. They are inhabited by the Gúrchání tribe of Rinds, and the government conferred the title of Nawâb on the person who held it. Hárând is reputed an ancient site, but Dájíl is said to be, at present, the most flourishing of the towns. The villages are numerous, notwithstanding the soil is not considered fertile, probably by reason of proximity to the river. Hárând and Dájíl, anciently comprised in the government of Déra Ghází Khân, were ceded, together with Shâll, to Nasír Khân, by Ahmed Shâh, in recompense for his services in the Persian wars. They have since been taken possession of by Ranjit Singh of Lahore, and his successor holds them.

With reference to the population of these countries, it is impossible to concede to Kach Gandâva one hundred thousand, or to the Marrí hills, with Hárând and Dájíl, above fifty thousand inhabitants. Granting an equal number to Sahárawân, including Núshki, Kalât, and Jhálawân, and again an equal number to the Western Provinces, we obtain a total of four hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants for the territories of the khân of Kalât; a trifling number compared with their extent, yet still rather over than under estimated.

## PART II.

## TRIBES OF EASTERN BALOCHISTAN.

IN the preceding pages a considerable insight into the nomenclature, and variety of the tribes of Eastern Balochistân, will have been acquired. It may still be advisable to devote a particular portion of this memoir to their classification and distribution, as well as to note the peculiar or accidental circumstances which distinguish them, when considered individually, or in relation with each other. Some readers may not deem it useless to notice the details the inhabitants have preserved of their origin, or to offer such conjectures as may tend to enlighten, if ever so little, that obscure subject.

Numerous as are the tribes dispersed over these extensive regions, those considered Baloch may be reduced to three great classes, the Bráhuís, the Rinds, and the Lumrís. Of those not Baloch, there are the Déhwârs of the capital and the fixed villages, the Jets of Kach Gandâva, the marine tribes of the coast, the Afghâns of Shâll, and, to complete the review, the Hindú residents in villages and towns. It is manifest that the Baloch class eminently claims attention in these pages.

We behold a race of people, calling themselves Baloch, extending from the eastern limits of Kach Gandâva and the valley of Sind to the frontier of Persia. It is clear that in this community are comprised many tribes of very different descent, inferring from the physiological distinctions which prevail amongst them, setting aside the variety in the dialects spoken by them. Some of them have dark countenances, which savour much of an Indian pedigree, while others are so much fairer, that we can scarcely believe them to be of eastern origin. If we examine the system of that portion of the Baloch community called Brábhúí, we find the tribes acknowledging the superiority of one, the Mírwârí, from which they select their head, or chief. This tribe is located in the provinces of Múshkí, Jhow, and Kolwah, which may be considered its headquarters, and which are intermediate between the central provinces of Sahárawân and Jhálawân and the western one of Kej. There is every reason to believe that the Brábhúís entered the central provinces from the west, their position, *hodie*, demonstrates it; and they consider Khozdár as their ancient capital, or that which they occupied previous to the acquisition of Kalât. In Kach Gandâva we find them only as proprietors of lands acquired within a known period, and on a certain occasion. If we analyze the appellation they have assumed, we learn little from it, and of that little we may not be certain. It has been conjectured to be the

equivalent of Varāha, and a race of that name figured in contentions with the Rájpúts; but it appears to have inhabited the Panjâb and the countries east of it. Had the term been Barohí,—and the pronunciation approximates thereto,—it might have been supposed to be simply “ba roh-í,” or, “of the waste;” as we would say, “makhlúkh baroh-í,” or, “people of the waste.” That some of the tribes now known as Bráhúí are not strictly such we may imagine; circumstances of neighbourhood, intercourse, and identity of interests, have blended them. To separate them is not so easy; but, possibly, those tribes may be more correctly considered Brá-húí who speak the dialect so called. It has no resemblance to the dialects of the Afghâns or Jets, and Professor Heeren, who connects the Brá-húís with the Afghâns, has, I submit, erred.

The Bráhúís may be divided into three sections, with reference to the parts of the country they inhabit.

## SECTION I.

### INHABITANTS OF THE WESTERN PROVINCES.

Mírwarí . . .	dwell in Múshkí, Jhow, and Kolwah.
Gitchkí . . .	dwell in Panjghúr and Kej.
Núshírvâní . . .	dwell in Khárân.
Homararí . . .	dwell in Kolwah.
Mehmasaní . . .	dwell in Múshkí.
Rodáhí . . .	dwell in Kolwah.
Kalmattí . . .	dwell at Kalamat and Pessaní, on the coast of Mekrán.



Sangúr . . .	dwell at Malân and Batt, on coast of Mekrân.
Gújar . . .	dwell at ditto.
Hállada . . .	dwell at Jhow.
Zigger Mínghals	dwell at Núshkí.
Rakshânís . .	dwell at ditto.
Sâka . . .	dwell at Gréshar in Múshkí.

## SECTION II.

## INHABITANTS OF SAHARAWAN.

Raisání . . .	dwell at Mastúng, Shâll, &c.
Sirperra . . .	dwell at Gúrghína.
Shirwâni . . .	dwell at Mastúng.
Máhmúdshâhí .	dwell at Mastúng.
Bangúl Zai . .	dwell at Mastúng.
Kúrd . . .	dwell on Dasht Bídowlat and Merv.
Lárl . . .	dwell at Mastúng.
Langhow . . .	dwell at Mangachar.
Rodaní . . .	dwell at Ashí Khân and Púdén.
Ghazghí . . .	dwell at Ghazg.
Shékh Hússéní .	dwell in hills west of Khânak.
Samalárl . . .	dwell in ditto.
Súnárl . . .	dwell on Dasht Gúrân.

## SECTION III.

## INHABITANTS OF JHALAWAN.

Zehrl . . .	dwell in Zehrl.
Minghal . . .	dwell in hills north of Las.
Bízúnjú . . .	dwell in the same hills, west of Mínghals.
Kaidrání . . .	dwell in hills near Khozdár.
Sáholí . . .	dwell in ditto.
Jetaks . . .	dwell in hills east of Zehrl.
Lútíánís . . .	dwell in Zehrl.

## SECTION I.—TRIBES OF THE WESTERN PROVINCES.

It is unnecessary to recapitulate here the remarks already made on these tribes in the geographical portion of the Memoir. Of the Mírwârí it has been already observed, that it is the more illustrious of the tribes; and of the Mehmasaní it may be noticed, that branches of it reside in the province of Sístân, and again in the hills of Louristân, W. by N. of Shíráz. These all acknowledge a common origin. It may be remembered that the name is classical, being that of a powerful tribe encountered by Alexander in Upper Bactriana.

The Núshírwânís of Khárân claim a Persian descent, and, in common with the illustrious Rájput tribes of Udípur, in western India, trace to the celebrated Núshírwân. In Múshkí, the tribe of Sâka deserves notice; it may be preserving the name of that powerful and ancient people so well known as the Sacæ in histories relating to the East.

## SECTION II.—TRIBES OF SAHARAWAN.

The principal of the Sahárawân tribes, both as to rank and wealth, although not in numerical strength, is the Raisání, the chief of whom is the hereditary sirdár, or lord, of the province. The present chief is Assad Khân, whose brother, Mírúlah, fell a

victim to the fears of Mehráb Khân, and his minister, Dáoud Máhomed. In 1830 he fled to Kândahár, and accompanied an invading army to Shâll and Mastúng. He retired with it, but was induced to return to Sahárawân at the instance of his mother. Assad Khân resides, during the warm months, at Gúl Máhomed, in the plain of Khânak, near Mastúng. In winter he retreats to Mítarí, in Kach Gandâva; which, with dependent villages, he holds in grant. In late years he has become a cripple, and therefore less able to take a part in public affairs. The Raisánís pretend to be able to raise five hundred fighting men, and are the most respectable in conduct of the Sahárawân tribes. They derive their name from furnishing the rais, or principal, of the various confederated clans.

The Sirperra reside during summer in Gúrghína, and during winter in Kach Gandâva, where they hold the village of Bírí, on the banks of the Nárí, between Irí and Hâjí Shahár. Their sirdár is Saiyad Khân, and they pretend to raise one thousand fighting men. This tribe, in its appellation signifying "cutters off of heads," bears one recognized in Indian as well as classical records. Pliny, for instance, mentions the Saraparæ in conjunction with the Bactrians, &c., in the neighbourhood of the Oxus.

The Shirwâní reside, with other tribes, in the districts of Shâll and Mastúng. They exclusively occupy Khad and Kishân, with the small town of

Skalkoh, about three miles eastward of Kalât. In Kach Gandâva they hold the towns and villages of Hâjî Shahâr, Maisar, Rústam, Ambí, and Bâghai. This tribe pretend to muster two thousand fighting men; and the chief, Máhoméd Khân, dwells near Mastúng. In the recent revolt in Balochistân he took a prominent part, indeed, commenced it by the slaughter of Lieut. Loveday's múnshí, Ghúlám Hússén, and a small detachment of súpáhís. Under the arrangements made by the envoy and minister, he became naib of Mastúng to his majesty Shâh Sújah al Múlk, with a salary of two hundred rupees per mensem. He had long withstood the solicitations of those who meditated the outbreak, owing to his naturally timid or cautious disposition, and perhaps might have held out against them had not the violence of the unfortunate múnshí prompted him to action. The Shirwâní tribe believe that their forefathers came from Shirwân, in the neighbourhood of the Caspian, and thus account for the name they assume.

The Máhmúdshâhí dwell chiefly at Mastúng, possessing also Kúhak. In Kach Gandâva they hold Zirdád, a village west of Bâgh. The chief, Dínár, dwells near Mastúng. The tribe pretend to muster fifteen hundred fighting men. Dínár was one of the most active in the late revolt.

The Bangúl Zai reside at Shâll and Mastúng. They exclusively occupy Isprinjí. In Kach Gandâva, a portion of this tribe permanently reside at

Tallí, near Lehrí, and thither, in winter, the migratory portion also repair. The chief is Jân Máhoméd, and the tribe pretends to muster two thousand fighting men. Jân Máhoméd, in concert with Dínár, was unremitting in his efforts to produce rebellion, long before Máhoméd Khân could be persuaded to join them, and employed himself in swearing his partisans on the Korân.

The Kúrds possess the Dasht Bídowlat and Merv. In Kach Gandâva they hold Tirkárí, about two miles north of Bâgh. The sirdár is Saiyad Khân; his tribe pretend to draw out five hundred fighting men. It is subdivided into the Mádé Zai (the principal branch), the Shúdan Zai, the Zirdád Zai, the Sáltag Zai, the Shádí Zai, and the Massutárí. It need not be remarked, that this tribe bears the name of one of the most celebrated and ancient nations on the earth.

The Larís, with other tribes, reside at Mastúng and Sháll, while they hold exclusively Nermúk. In Kach Gandâva they have a tract of country below Bâgh. They pretend to raise fifteen hundred fighting men, and their chief is Máhoméd Khân, reputed a brave man. He became a warm supporter of the insurgents. This tribe, in designation at least, are connected with others in the deltá of Sind, and in the countries to the east.

The Langhow tribe dwell principally in the plain of Mangachar, and hold in Kach Gandâva the village of Bagarar, south of Bâgh. Their chief is Pír

Máhomed, and they pretend to muster fifteen hundred fighting men. The Langhows are said, originally, to have been slaves of the Rinds, enfranchized by the famed Mír Chákar on the occasion of his daughter's nuptials. This tribe is so plainly of common origin with some of the Indian races, that they yet retain Hindú appellations, and the title singh is frequent amongst them.

The Rodanís reside at Ashí Khân, and Púdén, west of Kúrdígap. In Kach Gandâva they hold Irí. They pretend to raise four hundred fighting men. Their chief is Táj Máhomed. This tribe is, in fact, a branch of the Sirperra, but has long been accustomed to act independently. A portion of it also resides at Sohráb in Jhálawân.

The Ghazghí tribe residing at Ghazg, in Kach Gandâva, hold Gájân. They pretend to muster four hundred fighting men, and their chief is Kerím-dád Khân.

The Shékh Hússéní reside at the skirts of the hills west of Khânak, have for their chief Dáoud Máhomed, and pretend to raise three hundred fighting men.

The Samalárí were formerly located in Khânak and Dolai; but, committing depredations, fled to the hills of Péshing. Being regarded with jealousy, they repaired thence to the hills, between Khânak and Sherrúd; where they now reside as fugitives. It is supposed that they will be invited to resume their original seats. Their chief is Moríd, and they pretend to raise five hundred fighting men.

The Súnárí inhabit the Dasht Gúrán near Kalât. They are a branch of the Zehrí tribe of Jhálawân, and pay deference to its sirdár. They pretend to raise two hundred fighting men. They occupied their present position on the emigration of the Zigger Minghals into Núshkí.

### SECTION III.—TRIBES OF JHALAWAN.

The Zehrí inhabit the valley of Zehrí, the one deriving its name from the other. Its chief is hereditary sirdár of Jhálawân, and resides at Ghatt. At present the rank is borne by a minor, the son of the late Rashíd Khân. The tribe is numerous, and generally respected for orderly habits.

The Jetaks, neighbours to Zehrí, are also a numerous tribe, but, without fixed villages, are dispersed over the hills. Their name implies that they are related to the Jet population of Kachí, which their position confirms.

The Minghal tribe inhabit the southern hills of Jhálawân from the limits of Khozdár to Béla in Las. Their manners are rude, and their habits predatory. They have two great divisions, the Shâhí Zai and Pâhlawân Zai. The present chiefs are Isâ Khân and Réhim Khân. Although this tribe does not migrate into Kach Gandâva, the chiefs hold lands at or near Púlají and Chattar, and south of Lehrí. The Minghals pretend to raise

eighteen thousand fighting men, and their chiefs reside at Wad.

The Bízúnjús inhabit the same hills as the Minghals, but westward of them. They are, if possible, a more violent people, and much addicted to rapine. Their chief resides at Náll. This tribe separates into the great branches of Amalárí and Tambarárí. In Kach Gandâva the chiefs possess lands south of Bâgh. I should consider they were quite as numerous as the Minghals, without, however, knowing their pretensions in that respect. The Kaidránís inhabit the hills contiguous to Bâghwân and Khozdár. Amongst them are the lead mines of Kappar, near which dwells the chief, Alí Morád.

The Sâholí dwell at Zídí, in the hills south-east of Khozdár, under their chief, Attá Khân.

#### RIND TRIBES IN KACH GANDAVA.

The great Rind tribes, although not Brahúís, are included under the general denomination of Baloch. Their traditions affirm them to be immigrants, at some remote period, from Damascus and Aleppo. It is, however, difficult at this time, to detect any trace of a western original in their appearance; but we must reflect, that if there be any truth in their records, they have been familiar to the climate of India, and in a course of amalgamation with its tribes, for nearly twenty-five centuries.



The language of the Rinds, in common with that of the other inhabitants of Kach Gandâva, is the Jetkí. They are subdivided into so many as forty-four branches. Although they have partially intruded themselves into the hills of Sahárawân, they never appear to have passed them; and, on every account, we can believe that, whatever their origin, they found their way into Kach Gandâva from the east. When mentioning the term Bráhuí, we have tendered our suspicions, that it may rather define the habits and mode of life of the people bearing it, than their peculiar race or origin. The same suspicion attaches, in our estimation, to the word Rind, which, we apprehend, signifies nothing more than a brave man. Thus "mird-rind" means "a brave man." With the general term Baloch we have more difficulty. Ebn Haukal, speaking of the inhabitants of Mekrân, says, "Many resemble the Arabs, eating fowl and fish; others are like the Curds." He further says, "The Boloujes are in the desert of Mount Kefes, and Kefes, in the Pársí language, is Kouje, and they call these two people Koujes and Baloujes." The appellation is, therefore, of some antiquity. There are numerous Baloches in the countries east of the Indus, and they are all, I believe, Rinds, as in Baháwalpúr and the Panjâb. They have a similarity of appearance, and a peculiarity of dress, which does not allow them to be mistaken.

The Rinds of Kach Gandâva, of whom the prin-

cipal branch is the Utan Zai, pretend to be able to raise fifteen thousand men, and in political matters are supposed to act with deference to the Bráhuí sirdár of Sahárawân. A deadly blood feud rages between them and their neighbours, the Maghazzís. My acquaintance with the Rind tribes is not perfect; and I regret not being more fully informed as to their history. Of the tribes inhabiting Kach Gandáva, some are the

Utan Zai	. dwelling at	Súrân.
Dúmbkí	. „	Léhrí.
Jakrání	. . „	Léhrí.
Jallúi	. . „	Sanní.
Lashárí	. . „	Gájân.
Doda Marrí	. „	Kâhan.
Búghtí	. . „	in hills E. of Léhrí, at Sing Saloh and Terikí.
Homárârí	. dwelling at	Tambú.
Jamálí	. . „	Rojân.

Of these tribes, the Dúmbkís, Jakránís, Búghtís, and Doda Marrís, always distinguished by their rebellious and predatory propensities, have acquired a more than ordinary repute by the excesses they indulged in during the operations of the British armies west of the Indus, as well as by the equivocal results of the efforts made to restrain and to punish them. Ignoble and obscure, they might have so remained had their treatment in the first instance been due and considerate, but, owing to neglect, from contemptible mauraunders they became powerful adversaries; and, in the contest with them

it is difficult to conceive which party had the advantage.

Residing in the north-eastern hills of Sahárawân are the minor tribes of the

Kallúi . .	dwelling at Lúp.
Kúchik . .	„ Kirta.
Púzh . .	„ Johân.
Mandarári .	„ Rodbár.
Púgh . .	„ Kajúrí.

On the western banks of the Indus, extending from the neighbourhood of Dájil, are two great branches of the Rind tribe; the Gúrchanís, inhabiting Hárand, and the Mazáris stretching south of them. The Mazáris, a predatory tribe, having a tract of country yielding, it is said, a revenue of one lakh of rupees per annum, are nearly independent, acknowledging, should necessity prevail, the supremacy of Sind. At this time, they are pressed by the Síkhs, who have insinuated their troops into Dájil and Hárand.

The Marrís, a considerable tribe, inhabit the eastern hills of Kach Gandâva. They are notorious for their lawless habits, make frequent inroads upon the plains, and are wholly in rebellion to the khân of Kalât. A portion of this tribe is found in the hills west of the province, below Jell. They are peaceable and obedient subjects. A larger portion is also found on the south-eastern frontier of Sind, where they have a town, called Adam Marrí. These, of course, are subjects of Sind. The Marrís

have the singular custom of never selling roghan, alleging, that they reserve it for their guests. The Jamâli tribe, will, for the same reason, on no account sell milk.

The Búladaï, with their chief, Bárâm Khân, reside at Warí, north of Lárkhâna, in Sind, and are subject to the Amírs. Also under the hills, the western boundaries of Sind, are portions of the Utan Zai, Jamâli, and other Rind tribes, who emigrated from Kach Gandâva in the time of Nasir Khân, and were granted a settlement in Sind. The greater part of the country west of the Indus, from the parallel of Shikárpúr to that of Sehwân, is held by Baloch tribes; but it is foreign to our purpose to consider them the subjects of another state.

In the Afghân district of Síwí, to the north-east of Dádar, are the Baloch tribes Khadjak and Shí-lârchí. The former are said to hold the villages of Khadjak, Gúlú, and Lúní. The Shelârchís have a village called Shelârchí, with a chief, Ahmed Khân. They are neighbours in Síwí to the Afghân tribes of Sáfi, Kúrak, Margazári, and Dappâl.

In the hills east of Kâhan, are the Hússénís, Cháchas, Ketras, Beloch tribes. They are independent, being remote. To their east, is Sanghân, belonging to the Píarí Afghâns, with a castle or fort of the same name, and a village called Mandéh.

The Magghazzís, the mortal enemies of the Rinds, are probably of the same race. They count only

four families, of which the principal is the Bútâní, whose chief, Ahmed Khân, resides at Jell, in the south-western quarter of Kach Gandâva, south of Kotrú and the Rind districts of Súran, Sanní, &c. They pretend to be able to raise two thousand fighting men, and in the political system of the Bráhuís, are placed in obedience to the sirdár of Jhálawân.

## THE JETS OF KACH GANDAVA.

The Jets constitute the great bulk of the fixed agricultural population of Kach Gandâva, as of the Panjâb and Sindetic provinces; to say nothing of the countries between the Satlej and Ganges. A race so widely dispersed, of course, claims attention. Wherever located it is distinguished by speaking nearly the same dialect, and the name designating it carries us back to the Getic or Gothic invaders of India and of Europe. To the north and west of Kach Gandâva they are not found as agriculturists, but rather as itinerant professors of humble arts, somewhat like gypsies. Under such conditions they may be discovered at Kâbal, Kandahár, and even at Herát, at which latter place they are called, perhaps with reference to their occupations, Gharib Zâda, or descended of the poor or lowly. But wherever they go they preserve their vernacular tongue, the Jetkí. In the Panjâb, I believe, they do not occur westward of the Jélam,

which is instructive, as showing, if they represent the ancient Getic races, how they have been pushed forward by subsequent invaders. There can be no doubt but that the Getæ once possessed the whole of the countries immediately east and west of the Indus. With the Jet population, east of the Jélam, waggons, to the traveller from the west, first make their appearance.

The language of the Jet races deserves notice, especially with reference to the important question, what is Hindí? Materials for the comparison of its various dialects exist in their several vocabularies, and the labour of reviewing them could not be unprofitable. The settlement of the Jets in Kach Gandâva has been at so remote a period, that they now appear as the aborigines. Their subdivisions are numerous. The names of some of them are the Kalora, which formerly gave princes to Sind, Kokar, Hampí, Túnía, Abbrah, Púsarár, Máchí, Howra, Manjú, Waddara, Palál, Búah, &c.

#### LUMRIS OF LAS.

We have already pointed out the common origin of these races with the Rajpút, or Indo-Scythic tribes of India, and we have noted their subdivisions. They claim, and justly, a close affinity with the Búlfat, or Namadí, and the Júkía tribes of Sind, their neighbours to the east. Of these, it

may be observed, that the Búlfats are divided into two principal clans, the Bâppahâní and the Ammallâni; and that the Júkías are subdivided into fourteen families: the Tébir (the chief), Músa, Bardíjáh, Sálaráh, Haría-pútra, Mohmat, Panda, Hinghúra, Ghád, Hartí, Tagía, Hamíra-kâh, Shikárí, and Ponwár.

## MARINE TRIBES OF THE SEA PORTS.

These, called Méds, we have before noticed, and need not repeat our remarks here.

## DEHWARS OF THE CAPITAL AND FIXED VILLAGES.

Of these people we have before had occasion to point out that an interest attaches to them, from their position, settled mode of life, and from the fact of their vernacular language being what is known as Persian.

## AFGHANS OF SHALL.

These need scarcely be considered when touching on the tribes of Balochistân, albeit they are not without claims to attention, if, in their appellation, Kâssí, they have preserved that of the

important race, which, at some remote period, predominated over a large portion of Asia, and whose memory is consecrated in the mythological and authentic literature of so many nations, as well as by current traditions.



## PART III.

## GOVERNMENT AND HISTORY.

ON the subject of Bráhúí history we inquire in vain for any written record. Tradition, and the national songs, commemorating the exploits of chiefs and illustrious men, are the only native sources of information at command. The testimony they yield is necessarily obscure and exaggerated. We know, however, that the armies of the caliphs, at an early period, or within the first century of the hejira, appeared, both in Sind and Khorasân; and it may be inferred that Balochistân was visited by them. The natives, however, recovered authority; for we find, in Sind, two families ruling, one of them of the Rájput race certainly, as was the other probably, although converted to Islâm, since, with the former, its chief bore the title of jám. About this time the Sehrais, a Máhomedan family from Sind, governed at Kalât, and their burial-ground is still shown immediately south of the town walls. They were displaced by the Séwah, a Hindú tribe, whose expulsion was effected by the Bráhúís, still in power. There are no means of ascertaining the dates of these changes.

The Bráhúí conquest is believed to have been achieved under the orders of Kambar, a chief of the Mírwârí tribe; and the consequence was the adoption of a new form of government, suited to the enlarged possessions acquired. It was fixed, that the supreme power should be vested in Kambar, and that it should be hereditary; while other two chiefs, of the tribes Raisání and Zehrí, were appointed sirdárs; the first, of Sahárawân, and the last of Jhálawân; and these dignities were alike hereditary. It was, moreover, arranged that these two sirdárs, on all occasions of darbár, or council, were to sit, the sirdár of Sahárawân to the right, the sirdár of Jhálawân to the left of the khân. Matters of public interest, or which concerned the welfare of the Bráhúí community, were first to be submitted to the consideration of the sirdár of Sahárawân, who had also a priority in the delivery of his opinion. In the second instance, the sirdár of Jhálawân was to be consulted. Nothing of importance was to be undertaken without the concurrence of these two sirdárs, who, possessing an influence amongst their tribes independent of the khân, could at pleasure withhold their support. It became necessary, therefore, for the khân to act in concert with his hereditary counsellors, or, otherwise, he became suddenly powerless. This system of rule, whether suggested by the notion of promoting a union between the khân and his tribes, or of effectually counteracting any attempt on his

part to assume despotic authority, placed the head of the government in too dependent a state, and subject to the caprices of chiefs, it may be presumed, often restless and contrary. The khân had, besides, a special adviser, or vazír, whose office was alike made hereditary; and this minister was selected from the Déhwâr, or Tâjik population, showing a desire to conciliate that class of subjects from whom revenue was to be principally derived. Barbarous as are the Bráhuí tribes at this day, it is fair to suppose that they were formerly more so, and fancy portrays but a rude picture of the infancy of their government. The resources of the khân must have been very scanty, as he derived then, as now, no revenue from the tribes; and the provinces of Kach Gandâva and Dájíl to the east, and of Panjghúr, Kej, &c., to the west, were under other authority, or independent. The scanty revenues of Kalât, and of the villages of Sahárawân and Jhálawân, must have furnished him with the means of keeping his court, paying his troops, &c.

They must, moreover, have been very trifling, as there is reason to believe that one of the first measures of the Bráhuí rulers was the banishment of their Hindú subjects, and this unenlightened policy was acted upon until the era of Nasír Khân. Very probably, the khâns of Kalât were, for a long period, dependent on the spoils of their neighbours; and the chief subject of council debate may have been the selection of points on which to direct

their forays ; indeed, the first of them, whose name is consecrated to fame, owed his renown to having been a more than ordinary bold and successful depredator. Notwithstanding the imperfect form of government, and the excessive power of the hereditary sirdárs, no change has been made in the Bráhúí dynasty up to this time, and the present chief can boast of being the descendant of eighteen sovereign khâns, or princes. This fact may favour the opinion that the Bráhúí constitution is adapted to the people for whose government it was framed. It may be, perhaps, as reasonably accounted for by the limited sphere of action formerly open to the exercise of political contentions, and the submission of the country to the great Indian empire. We find Séwistan (described as comprising Sahárawân and Jhálawân) enumerated amongst the provinces of the empire in the time of the emperor Akbár, and noted as furnishing quotas of troops, but paying no tribute. Immediately before the invasion of Nádir the authority of the empire was little respected in its remoter provinces, and the several petty chiefs of Síwí, Sind, and Kalát, affected independence, and waged mutual war. About this time, or at the commencement of the eighteenth century, the khân of Kalát and of the Bráhúís was Abdúlah Khân, an enterprising chieftain, who made marauding excursions to Kej, Panjghúr, Kândahár, and so particularly harassed and desolated Kach Gandâva, that, to use the expression of

the Bráhuís, who relate his history, its “naffas,” or “vital principle,” became extinct. In one of these inroads, an army arrived from Sind, of eight thousand men, with which Abdúlâh Khân, with fifteen hundred men, ventured to commit himself in conflict. He was slain, with three hundred of his followers. His corpse, it is said, was never found. The action took place at Jandrír, between Dádar and Mítarí, where, some years afterwards, Nasír Khân formed a garden, called Mír Bâgh. He also erected a cenotaph to the memory of his father under the hills east of Kalât. The memory of Abdúlâh Khân is cherished by his countrymen, who are fond of relating his lawless exploits, and who revere him as the author of their political importance. His son, Mohábat Khân, succeeded, and while he ruled the invasion of Hindústán by Nádir happened; and the whole of the provinces west of the Indus were annexed to the Persian empire by the treaty which followed the submission of Máhoméd Shâh. Nádir undertook the settlement of his newly acquired territory, and, it is said, by his orders, Mir Núr Máhoméd, Kalora, the prince of Sind, was delivered into the hands of Mohábat Khân, that he might avenge the death of his father. The Bráhuí chief declined the commission of murder, and Nádir compelled the Kalora prince to cede Kach Gandâva as an equivalent or atonement for the blood of his slaughtered father. Hence it is

always spoken of as having been acquired by the blood of Abdúlâh Khân.

Nádir, however, found the Bráhuí chief in hostility with his inveterate opponents, the Ghiljís, then holding Kândahár, and therefore was disposed to regard him favourably; and the services he received from Mohábat Khân had most likely as much to do with the cession of Kach Gandâva as a desire to compensate for the blood of Abdúlâh Khân.

Mohábat Khân, in imitation of his father, set on foot several forays; amongst them, one upon the vicinity of Kândahár. This proved unfortunate. The government of that place, consequent on the murder of Nádir, fell to the vigorous Ahmed Shâh, who revenged the insult by ravaging Sahárawân, by the destruction of some castles, particularly the citadel of Mastúg, and by carrying with him to Kândahár, as hostages for the future good behaviour of the Kalât chief, his two brothers, Eltárz Khân and Nasír Khân, afterwards so famed. Mohábat Khân was not popular with his chiefs, and the then sirdár of Sahárawân held a correspondence with his younger brother, Nasír Khân, at Kândahár; also with Ahmed Shâh, who, already prepossessed in favour of Nasír Khân, summoned Mohábat Khân to his capital, where he detained him in captivity until his death, deputing Nasír Khân to rule in his stead. This chief, while a hostage with Ahmed Shâh, had the misfortune to slay, accidentally, his

brother, *Eltárz Khán*, from whom the *Eltárz Zai* families of *Bâghwân* and *Kotrú* are descended.

*Nasír Khân*, by his capacity to govern, justified the choice of his subjects and the favour of the *Dúrání* sovereign, and soon developed enlarged and enlightened views of policy. His grand object was to effect the union of the Baloch community; and, with the view of engaging the hearty coöperation of his tribes, and to secure the recent acquisition of *Kach Gandâva*, he divided its lands and revenues into four equal portions, making over two shares to the tribes of *Sahárawân* and *Jhálawân*, assigning another to the Jet population of the country, and retaining the fourth to benefit his own revenue. A fifth portion, occupied by the *Rinds* and *Magghazzís*, was not interfered with, grants to them having been made by *Nádir*. These two tribes, however, were included within the political system of the *Bráhuís*; the *Rinds* by being attached to *Sahárawân*, and the *Magghazzís* by being united to *Jhálawân*. No arrangement could have been more popular; and it is worthy of observation that, while intended to provide against the recovery of the province by the *Kalora* princes of *Sind*, it was not only effectual, but has proved in our days the means of exciting the tribes to a strenuous opposition to the measures adopted by the British political authorities; for there can be no doubt that the unjust annexation of *Kach Gandâva* to the crown of *Kâbal* was one of the main causes of the

revolt in Balochistân. Before the grants of Nasír Khân the several Bráhuí tribes of Sahárawân were accustomed to migrate into Kachí with their flocks for the winter season, paying a certain amount for the sufferance of settlement and right of pasture. As the wealth of these people lies in their flocks, which cannot subsist during the winter months on the bleak snowy wilds of Sahárawân, the advantage of permanent possessions on the warm and level plains of Kachí were inestimable to them; and how it came to be expected that they were to be renounced without murmur or struggle I know not, unless through ignorance of the habits of the tribes, and of the tenure on which they held a footing in the province.

Nasír Khân, by original treaty a dependent on the Dúraní king, through his signal services in the field obtained so great a share of favour, that Ahmed Shâh ceded to him, in recompence, the districts of Shâll and Mastúg, with the provinces of Hárand and Dájil. The Bráhuís claim Shâll on account of having wrested it from the Teríns in the time of Abdúlah Khân; but, by reason of the inhabitants being Afghâns, it had been resumed by Ahmed Shâh, when he resented the inroad of Mohábat Khân, although now restored by him to Nasír Khân. The Kalât chief carried his victorious arms into Kej and Panjghúr, annexing them, with the intermediate provinces, to his dominion. Ultimately, he provoked Ahmed Shâh, who besieged



him in his capital, which would have fallen, had not mediation been interposed. During the latter part of his reign he had to suppress the revolts raised by Báhrám Khân, grandson of Mohábat Khan, who, young and active, asserted by force of arms his pretensions to power.

Nasír was sedulous in consolidating his territory and in improving his resources. He encouraged the settlement of Hindús in his towns, and recalled a colony of Bábís, who had been expelled by his predecessor. He strengthened his connexion with the maritime province of Las, and obtained possession of the port of Karáchí from the Kalora prince of Sind. He died, after a glorious and lengthened rule of forty years. His liberality had always been great, and he left to his son and successor an extended empire, but a scanty treasury, of three lákhs of rupees.

Máhmúd Khân had early to dispute the possession of authority with Bahrâm Khân and his father, Hâjí Khân, who had been released, or had escaped from Kândahár. They were so far successful that Hâjí Khân recovered Kalât, and Máhmúd was compelled to call in the aid of the Dúránís, who afforded it. Hâjí Khân, respected while occupying the mírí, or citadel of Kalât, which is held in peculiar veneration by the Bráhuís, was plundered by them as soon as he left it, and soon after, being placed in the power of the Dúránís, was carried back by them to Kândahár, where he died.

His son, after many bold but fruitless attempts to establish himself, became, at length, a prisoner to Máhmúd, and died at Kalát, leaving two sons in confinement. In the contest between Máhmúd and Hâjí Khân the sirdár of Jhálawân, then Khodâbakhsh, had taken many oaths on the Korân to support the cause of the latter. When the crisis came he ranged himself on the side of Máhmúd, and when his engagements to Hâjí Khân were urged upon him, he observed, that it was true he had given the Korân to Hâjí, but that he had given his beard to Máhmúd. He clearly thought he might do without the Korân, but not without his beard, and this is the case with many of the Bráhuí tribes, who regard an oath upon their beards as the most sacred of obligations. The Marrís, and some other tribes, in like manner, consider an oath on their swords as the most stringent of ties.

During these troubles the province of Kej renounced the yoke imposed upon it by Nasír Khân, and Máhmúd Khân was too much engaged to support his claims. Without the enterprise or ability of his father, the Kalát chief might have seen his territories further curtailed, but for the energies of his half brothers, Mastapha Khân and Réhim Khân. The disorders of the Minghal and Bízúnjú tribes of Jhálawân aroused him from his usual inactivity, and he revenged himself upon their chiefs by their common slaughter, near Khozdár.

The Kalora dynasty had now terminated in Sind. The last of its princes, weak and cruel, had been expelled by his officers of the Tâlpúri tribe, and the government was in the hands of four brothers, one of whom, Fatí Alí, was a man of some decision of character. One of his first acts was the resumption of Karáchí. Mahmúd Khân contented himself with demanding its restitution by his ambassadors. His brother, Mastapha Khân, contemplated its recovery by force of arms, when he was prematurely cut off, as will be noticed. Important political changes occurred in Afghânistân. Máhmúd Khân remained faithful to the treaty concluded between his father and Ahméd Shâh, acknowledging the Sadú Zai prince, the sovereign of the day, whether Shâh Máhmúd or Shâh Sújâh. Up to a late period a Bráhuí contingent, of one thousand men, was stationed in Káshmír.

The two brothers of Máhmúd Khân, Mastapha Khân and Réhim Kkân, were remarkable men, and their singular lives and tragical deaths might form a topic of romance, as well as of history. Mastapha Khân held the government of Kâch Gandâvá and Dájil, or the provinces east of Kalât, and by his valour and unremitting attention to the repression of disorders, produced in them a state of security they had never enjoyed before or since. He made several expeditions against the predatory Bráhuí tribes of the hills, as the Marrís and others; also against the Khâkâ Afghâns, north of Shâll,

inflicting upon them great slaughter, and completely restraining them in the exercise of their lawless habits. He demanded of the chiefs of Sind the restitution of Karáchí, with the sum of the revenues they had drawn from it during the period of its unauthorized occupation, and was prepared, in case of refusal, to have made an expedition into Sind. The Tálpúr leaders proffered first simple restitution, then with three years revenue, and, finally, with the whole of the revenues they had collected from it. The envoy charged with the latter propositions had not reached Mastapha Khân when he heard of the chief's murder. There became no necessity to fulfil his mission, and he returned to his employers. It is said that Mastapha Khân had concluded a treaty with Sâdat Khân, the ruler of Bahâwalpúr, the object of which was the partition of Sind; and it is further said that the treaty had received the sanction of Fatí Khân, then at the head of affairs in Afghânistân. Sâdat Khân was to have taken the country east of the Indus, and Mastapha Khân that to the west.

Mastapha Khân and Réhim Khân, who, it should be noted, were half brothers, were in Kach Gandâva when news arrived from Kalât of the death of Réhim Khân's mother. As customary with Máho-medans on the decease of their relatives, the bereaved son sat, as it is expressed, on the gillam, or carpet. Supposing, as a matter of course, that Mastapha Khân would be a visitor, Réhim Khân, to

distinguish him, had, on the first day of sitting on the gillam, prepared an entertainment for him. Mastapha Khân did not appear, neither did he on the second or third day, which induced Réhim Khân to send a message. Mastapha Khân excused himself, and promised to attend on the morrow. Réhim Khân, persuaded that his brother would now become his guest, ordered a due repast to be provided. On the morrow, seated at a balcony of his house, he beheld Mastapha Khân quit his residence, which was contiguous, and mount a camel. Instead of taking the road to Réhim Khân's abode of grief, Mastapha Khân took one in the contrary direction. It became evident that he was gone on a hunting excursion, accompanied by four or five attendants. Réhim Khân, incensed at the neglect, or premeditated insult of his brother, determined upon desperate and unlawful revenge. With fifty or sixty armed followers, he followed Mastapha Khân during the day, but at such a distance as not to be recognised by him, awaiting an opportunity to assail him. This did not present itself until evening, when Mastapha Khân, on his return homeward, alighted from his camel and seated himself upon the ground. Réhim Khân, with his retinue, appeared, and he fired a shot at his brother, which took effect. Mastapha Khân exclaimed, "Ah! Réhim, do not destroy me from a distance; if thou art a man, close with me." Réhim Khân rushed in upon his brother, and, after a violent struggle,

both being upon the ground, Mastapha Khân was despatched. Réhim Khân also was wounded. The corpse of Mastapha Khân was interred near Bâgh, and a makbara was erected over his remains, a little north of the town. Although the resentment of Réhim Khân was the immediate cause of the assassination of Mastapha Khan, it is pretended by some that the rulers of Sind, fearing his designs, had promised a considerable sum of money to an aunt of Réhim Khân, residing at Kotrú, in case she should despatch Mastapha Khân; and that the nephew, at her instigation, committed the atrocious deed. Réhim Khân, indeed, immediately fled towards Sind, and he received from its chiefs a sum of money, whether the reward of perfidy, or the proceeds of a private sale of jewels and swords, must remain doubtful. Mastapha Khân had the character of an undaunted soldier. Of a commanding stature, his fine person and noble aspect were well fitted to ensure the respect of his rude countrymen, as his liberality and valour were calculated to win their esteem and admiration. He was a man of violence, but of justice, and the innocent had nothing to fear from him. Powerful to chastise an enemy, he was prompt to reward a friend; and his generosity of sentiment and action had often converted to a friend a worthy enemy. He retained in pay a body of eight hundred well-equipped Afghân horse, which, while it made him competent to carry any of his measures, also left him but little dependent

on the tribes. Robbers he chastised with the utmost severity; and although his punishments were barbarous, as impalement, &c., he proved that it was possible to restrain the licentious habits of his subjects. It had ever been the custom in Kach Gandâva, as it is now, and in most Máhomedan countries, for a Hindú in passing from one village to another to put himself under the protection of a Máhomedan, for which he presented a fee. Mastapha Khân, during his administration, abolished this system; punishing by fine the Hindú who paid a Máhomedan for protection, and by death the Máhomedan who accepted a protecting fee. In his progresses amongst the hill tribes, he was wont to throw on the road rolls of cotton cloth. If on his return, or at any subsequent time, he found them *in situ*, he rejoiced, and observed, "I almost fancy that Mastapha Khân's authority is respected as it ought to be." So fearful were the natives of the hills of exciting the attention of their terrible chieftain, that, on seeing a roll of linen on the road, they would run away from it, and pray that Mastapha Khân might never know that they had even seen it. The Bráhúí chief was not, however, without his eccentricities, and was devoted to intemperance. On these accounts, as well as for his indomitable courage, he was a great favourite with the profligate Vazír Fatí Khân. Hâjí Khân, Khâkâ, afterwards of such prominent notoriety in Afghân affairs, was, at the commencement of his

career, an obscure soldier in the service of Mastapha Khân.

Réhim Khân, after his brother's murder, retired to the frontiers of Sind, where he collected a force, with which he marched into the provinces of Hárand and Dájil, and took possession thereof. Máhmúd Khân, the chief of Kalât, reflecting probably that he was a brother, did not molest him, or affect to notice his proceedings. Growing at length weary of his situation, Réhim Khân secretly left Dájil with some fifty horsemen, and entered Kach Gandâva, which he traversed, and gained the skirts of the hills, separating the province from Kalât at a point west of Gandâva. His attendants were desirous that he should enter the hills, urging, that the sister of Mastapha Khân was at Gandâva, and might be aware of his situation, as it was barely possible that he had not been recognized on the road. Réhim Khân refused to attend to their prudent councils, and observed, alluding to some former event of his life, "What would be said of Réhim Khân, who at Dádar with five men, disdained to fly from as many hundreds, if now, with fifty, he should retire into the hills through fear of a woman?" The apprehensions of his attendants were but too well founded. Mastapha Khân's sister was aware of Réhim Khân's arrival in the province, and of his halting-place. She collected the troops of Gandâva and the armed peasantry, and with the tumultuary mass marched upon Ré-



him Khân, who was overpowered and slain. His body was carried to Bâgh, and interred by side of his brother, Mastapha Khân. Réhim Khân's motives for quitting Dájil are not precisely known. Some suppose that he had an idea of throwing himself into the western provinces ; others imagine, with greater probability, that he had determined to cast himself at the feet of Máhmúd Khân, and to implore pardon for his past offences.

Máhmúd Khân, the chief of Kalát, in the prime of life, fell a victim to intemperance, dying, it is said, of stricture. He had become devoted to the pleasures of wine, and had brought a company of dancing girls from Sind. In their society he spent the greater part of his time. It is rumoured in Balochistân that the jealousy of Máhmúd Khân's wives, rather than his bodily infirmities proved, fatal to his existence. One of them, the mother of Mehráb Khân, incensed at the neglect with which she was treated, and at the preference shewn by her husband to the dancing girls of Sind, is supposed to have administered a draught of poison to her estranged lord. This lady is since dead, and, be the fact as it may, no suspicion implicates her son Mehráb Khân in the transaction. Máhmúd Khân had governed about twenty-five or twenty-six years. While living, his reputation suffered by comparison with that of his energetic father. Dead, he was regretted, when his sway was contrasted with the more feeble one of his son and successor.

Mehráb Khân succeeded peaceably to the government, and his first acts betokened spirit, and gave the promise of an effective and active reign. He regained ascendancy in Kej and the western provinces, and controlled the disorders in other parts of his territory. But he had speedily to encounter opposition from the descendants of Mohábat Khân; and Ahmed Yár Khân, the son of Báhrám Khân, was in arms against him. This chief repaired to Jell, and excited the Magghazzís to espouse his faction; after expending ten thousand rupees to little purpose, Mehráb Khân repaid him the money, and allowed him to return to Kalât. A second time he went to Tallí, in Kachí, and having no better success than before, Mehráb Khân repaid him two thousand rupees which he stated to have been spent. Still restless, he fled to Dájil, which he devastated, and was again forgiven by Mehráb Khân. A fourth time he retired amongst the Khadjaks of Síwí, and raised the Sahárawâní tribes, whose revolt caused Mehráb Khân an effort to repress; and Ahmed Yár Khân, being made captive, was detained at Kalât, where he was afterwards slain, at the instance of Dáoud Máhoméd, a Ghiljí, of low extraction, whom it was the misfortune of Mehráb Khân to raise from obscurity to power, to the detriment of the old servants of his father and grandfather, and in opposition to the feelings of the tribes. Dáoud Máhoméd wished to have sacrificed with their sire his two sons Sháh Nawâz and Fatí,

who have since become known in Bráhuí history, but Mehráb Khân would not consent, although he held them in honourable confinement.

The khân's partiality for Dáoud Máhomed proved the pregnant source of evil and embarrassment to him. The Ghiljí, to maintain his position, deemed it necessary to remove all those in opposition to him, or whose influence and character he feared; and these were so many, including all who were high-born and illustrious in the country, that the task might have daunted a man of less effrontery. Twenty-three or twenty-four of the most distinguished Bráhuí chiefs and individuals were sacrificed, and in succession, as the opportunity presented itself, to calm the apprehensions of Dáoud Máhomed. Many of these unfortunate men were no doubt in rebellion, but it cannot be forgotten that their crimes were merely defensive, and would never have been heard of but for the unwise step of the khân, and for the pride and insolent bearing of his minister. The immediate consequence of these acts was, the complete dislocation of authority; the surviving relatives of the slain, bound by national obligations as well as by their feelings to revenge, disavowed allegiance, and formed a general combination to expel Dáoud Máhomed by force of arms. They marched to the capital, where Mehráb Khân was encamped without the walls, and no sooner had they arrived than they were joined by those about the chief, excepting

some four hundred of his immediate dependents, principally khânázats, or household slaves. So complete was the defection on this occasion, that Walí Mahomed Khân, the old Minghal chief, afterwards slain at Kalât, was the only person of note who adhered to his master. Even Jám Ali, from remote Las, who was present, became a rebel. Mehráb Khân, obstinate in his purpose to retain Dáoud Mahomed, was placed in extreme danger; his tent was surrounded, and the muskets of the implacable insurgents, who declared Akhúnd Mahomed Sídik their khân, were directed to it. The Bábí merchants, and other natives of Kalât, interposed, and effected an arrangement, by which, leaving the main point of dispute at issue, the khân should be allowed to retire within the town, held by the dárogah, Gúl Máhommed; in return, the newly-appointed khân's wives and children within the walls were to be permitted to leave the town. Difficulty attended the execution of the agreement; the disaffected fearing to be overreached; but by some clever contrivance it was acted upon, the khân being popped in at one gate as the family of the akhúnd were popped out of another. As soon as the khân was liberated, dárogah Gúl Máhommed opened fire from the citadel and town walls on the malcontents; and as the valley east of Kalât is within range of gun shots, they were forced to retire to some distance, and dissension creeping into their councils, they marched to Zehrí, where a dispute

concerning some seized grain occasioned their dispersion, and the several chiefs, with their followers, returned to their respective homes.

Notwithstanding this failure of the chiefs to compel the dismissal of Dáoud Máhoméd, the khân, aware that the prejudice against him was as strong as ever, thought prudent to remove his favourite for a while, and, accordingly, secretly despatched him to Kândahár, where, for a year or two he resided. When again summoned to Kalât, a plot was formed by the chiefs of Sahárawân to assassinate him on the road; but it was frustrated by the care of Mehráb Khân. The Ghiljí again assumed power, alike detested and feared by his numerous enemies.

Mehráb Khân's military operations have been few and inglorious. In an expedition against the Marrís he was foiled, and forced to break up his army, without gaining anything but contempt.

The intrigues of the Sahárawâní chiefs with the sirdárs of Kândahár have, on more than one occasion, brought a Dúrání army to Mastúng, and occasioned the assembly of the Bráhúí's levies to oppose it, when a treaty has been patched up, without the intention of being observed on either side. On one of these inroads Akhúnd Máhoméd Sídik, before mentioned as having been appointed khân by the malcontents, and who has since become known to the British political authorities, visited, as envoy, the Dúrání camp. Introduced to the sirdárs, he, of course, proposed to sell his master. Kóhan Dil

Khân inquired if he were not a múlla, and being answered affirmatively, asked, why he wore a military Baloch cap, and why he suffered his hair to grow so profusely. Commenting upon the inconsistency, he called for the barber and ordered the âkhúnd's head to be shaven, and then replaced his cap, with a white muslin turban. The âkhúnd was so mortified, that he did not appear in public life until his head was again covered with the honours of which the unnatural Dúrání barber had deprived it. Kóhan Dil Khân well knew how to treat such men. Our diplomatic gentlemen were less shrewd.

In the reign of Mehráb Khân a memorable instance of the punishment of presumption and pride occurred in a contest between the tribes Rind and Magghazzís in Kachí, between whom, from of old, a deadly feud exists. The Rinds, who have greatly the advantage of numbers, collected, it is said, seven thousand men, and contemplated the extermination of their foes. The Magghazzís were unable to oppose more than two thousand to them. All offers of accommodation were rejected, and the prayers and tears of sayyads and of women were interposed in vain. The hostile parties drew near to each other, and the Magghazzís, determined to sell their lives as dearly as they could, in calmness awaited their approach. A murderous volley, at forty yards, threw the Rinds into confusion, which was made irremediable by an immediate charge, and the embarrassment of canals

of irrigation amongst which they were entangled. Two thousand of the Rinds were supposed to be slain, while little loss befel the victors. The khân of Kalât, on hearing of the victory, sent a dress of honour to Ahmed Khân, the Magghazzí chief, which so disgusted the Rinds that they retired in a body to the frontiers of Sind, where the Amírs assigned them territory for their subsistence. In course of time they were recalled. The defeat of the Rinds happened in 1830.

About the same time, Mehráb Khân was deprived of the provinces of Hárand and Dájil by the Síkhs, owing to the course of intrigues set on foot by Saiyad Máhoméd Sheríf, since famous for subtlety and crime, in connexion with the melancholy fate of his master, and no less infamously distinguished for his misdemeanours in the service of those who had been duped by his plausible appearance and manners.

In 1831 Mehráb Khân made some ineffectual efforts to repress the license affected by the Minghal and Bízúnjú tribes of Jhálawân, and for that purpose went to Khozdár. Returning to Sohráb, he collected an army to reduce to obedience the western tribes, which finally marched under the orders of his brother, Mír Azem Khân, and the Ghiljí Dáoud Máhoméd. Rústam Khân, Mehmasenní, one of the disaffected, early made his submission; but Mohém Khân, Núshírwâní, who had placed himself in dependence on Kándahár, resisted.

and was besieged in his stronghold of Gwerjak. The usual process of a Baloch investment and siege was carried out; towers and mounds were erected to overlook the walls of the fortress; but, an understanding existing between the rebel chief and many in the Kalât camp, nothing of consequence was effected, until the besieged needed fuel. On this, offers were made to surrender the place; but it was insisted upon that the garrison should give an entertainment to the victors; which being approved, stores of fuel were allowed to be introduced into the fort, and immediately shouts of defiance were heard from it. The siege was again pressed, and the garrison once more reduced to extremity, when Mohém Khân produced a peremptory order from Kândahár that the siege should be raised, on account of his being a vassal of the Dúránís. The army thereupon marched into Kej; and, ultimately, returned to Kalât without having achieved anything of moment.

For a year or two Mehráb Khân was occupied in providing against his unruly chiefs and tribes, being uninterrupted by any invasion from abroad, when he experienced a fresh cause of solicitude in the escape from the citadel of Kalât of Shâh Nawâz Khân and Mír Fatí Khân, the sons of Ahmed Yár Khân, slain at the commencement of his rule. The faction of these young men was embraced by the Sahárawâní tribes; and Dádar being captured by them, they advanced into Kachí. Mír Azem Khân,



with the Magghazzí levies, encountered and defeated them, compelling Shâh Nawâz Khân to seek an asylum in Kândahâr, and Mír Fatí Khân in Sind. Soon after these events the ex-king, Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, appeared at Shíkárpúr, determined to attempt the recovery of his dominions. Mehráb Khân directed all honour to be shown him in his passage through his territory. After the ex-king, defeated at Kândahâr, had invoked, to no purpose, the aid of the chiefs of Lâsh and Sístân, he crossed the desert, and arrived, a fugitive, at Kalât, warmly pursued by the Kândahâr sirdâr, Réham Dil Khân. Mehráb Khân did not hesitate to grant him protection, and to his conduct on this occasion the British government has publicly offered its testimony of applause. "This reverse left him no alternative but flight; and pursuing the route of Belochistan, he arrived at Kalat; the capital of that country, with about two hundred followers, and so closely pressed by Réham Dil Khân, of Kândahâr, with upwards of two thousand men, that the royal fugitive was forced to take refuge within the palace of the khân of Kalat. The Beloochee chief instantly accorded to the unhappy monarch the protection and hospitality for which that nation is proverbial." Vide No. 61, The Governor-General of India, in council, to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, 5th March 1835, page 42, of the "Papers relative to the Expedition into Afghânistân."

While there is some error in this extract, as to trifling details of numbers, &c.; there is none as to the main fact of the protection afforded, and some may think that the khân's generosity might have been better requited. Ráham Dil Khân, the shâh's pursuer, was a manly foe; and when his brother, Kohan Dil Khân, wished to have avenged upon Mehráb Khân the escape of the shâh, he protested against it, affirming, that the Kalát chief had proved himself a good man; neither was he ashamed to avow that he esteemed him for his sense of honour.

In 1833 the influence of Dáoud Máhomed, before on the decline, became so low that to maintain his position he conceived it necessary to invite an invasion from Kândahár. His communications were intercepted, and Mehráb Khân considered his treason deserved punishment. One of the early victims to the fear of Dáoud Máhomed had been the hereditary Tâjik adviser of the khân, the Vakíl Fatí Máhomed. The vakíl's son, Náib Múlla Hassan, was suffered to live, and generally accompanied the khân in his excursions, and attended the darbár, without being consulted on affairs. Latterly he had received more attention, which increased in proportion as Dáoud Máhomed declined in estimation; and from mere insinuations, he gradually intimated more plainly his opinion of the perfidy of the Ghiljí, without offence, until, emboldened by the khân's state of mind, he offered

himself as an instrument to despatch him. The khân spoke approvingly, without further committing himself, and Dáoud Máhoméd, perhaps apprehensive of the náib's enmity or acquainted with his project, represented to his master that it was incumbent to put the náib to death. The khân did not object, but declined to give the requisite order. The struggle between the Ghiljí and náib became publicly known, as well as the indecision of the khân, and the community of Kalât were wondering what would be the result. The correspondence with Kândahár probably decided the Ghiljí's fate. The dissimulation of Mehráb Khán was, however, remarkably displayed on this occasion. He consented to sacrifice the náib to the resentment of Dáoud Máhoméd, and fixed the morrow for the enactment of the deed. In like manner, he promised the náib that his enemy, Dáoud Máhoméd, should fall by his hand. On the following morning he repeated his assurance to the Ghiljí; who returned home so well satisfied that, on again leaving his house for the citadel he observed, that before he returned he should have run down, in chase, a great prey. The khân, the Ghiljí, and the náib, sat with others in general discourse until the evening time of prayers, when the company dispersed, the náib and Ghiljí, being privileged persons, remaining to pray by the side of the khân. Dáoud Máhoméd retired to a chamber to perform the usual ablutions before prayers, and while engaged in them received

a sword-cut on the neck from Náib Múlla Hassan, who had followed him; he turned round, inquiring "Chí shúd?" what's the matter? when a second cut deprived him of speech and life. Náib Múlla Hassan naturally succeeded to the post of his slain father, which had been so long enjoyed by Dáoud Máhoméd.

The change of ministers unfortunately produced no improvement in the state of affairs, or in that of the country at large; one course of intrigue being merely substituted for another. The chiefs of Sahárawân continued in disaffection; and found, strangely enough, an additional cause in the murder of Dáoud Máhoméd. The sirdar of Jhálawân absented himself from attendance at court, and the chiefs of Bâghwân and Wad placed themselves in open revolt. While matters were in this state the British expedition crossed the Indus, its route to Kândahár lying through the khân's territory. It is needless to repeat what has been written on this subject in the preceding part of this volume; but we may deplore the misfortune of Mehráb Khân, when the composition of his darbár at the time is considered, and when we call to mind the people he was compelled to employ in his negotiations with the British authorities. They were Náib Múlla Hassan, Akhúnd Máhoméd Sídik, and the Saiyad Máhoméd Sheríf; to them may be added the brother of Dáoud Máhoméd. Náib Múlla Hassan had to avenge his father's death. Akhúnd Máhoméd

Sídik, it will be remembered, had once been nominated khân. Saiyad Máhoméd Sheríf, by his treason, had lost to the khân, Hárand and Dájil, besides intriguing with the Kândahár sirdárs; the brother of Dáoud Máhoméd naturally cherished feelings of revenge.

To baffle the insidious efforts of such men, and to impart confidence to the soured and sullen Mehráb Khân, qualities were required which the officers of the British mission never gave any proof that they possessed. In lieu of penetrating the crafty wiles of the designing, they were themselves duped by them, and an uninterrupted series of errors led to the death of the misled and bewildered Kalât chief, the sack of his capital, and the partition of his country.

The detection of error, although acknowledged by the captivity of Náib Múlla Hassan, was not accompanied by the recognition of the son of Mehráb Khân, who, a fugitive upon his father's death, was chased from one place to another, while on the plea of legitimacy, Shâh Nawâz Khân was placed in authority over Kalât, and the remnant of the country attached to it.

The revolt of the Bráhuí tribes, the operations at Kalât and elsewhere, require not to be more than alluded to in this place. The governor-general found it necessary to reverse everything that his political officers had done, as far as lay in his power. The son of Mehráb was seated on the

masnad of his late father; and the present head of the Indian government has completed the act of justice, by restoring to him that portion of his dominion which had been so absurdly annexed to the crown of Kâbal. What has become of Shâh Nawâz Khân, the chief constituted by the political authorities, I know not; but for Mr. Bell's better sense of justice, he would have been victimized, to conceal the incapacity of those who placed him in a false position. The actual chief of Kalât, now styled Mîr Nasîr Khân, in regard to the memory of his great-grandfather, is fifteen or sixteen years of age, has a prepossessing appearance, and has been well educated through the care of his father. At the period of life when the mind is most open to impressions of good and evil, his future course must be contemplated with interest, not unmixed with fear, with reference to the dangers which surround him. He has, however, more than ordinary incitement to do that which is right, as his exemplary conduct will best vindicate his father's reputation.

## GENEALOGICAL TABLE,

SHOWING THE DESCENT, ON THE MALE SIDE, OF THE PRESENT CHIEF OF KALAT FROM ABDULAH KHAN.

Abdullah Khan; slain in battle at Jandrir.

Mohabat Khan, reigned some time at Kalat; superseded by his brother, Nasir Khan, and died, a hostage, at Kandahar.

Eltarz Khan, slain accidentally by his brother, Nasir Khan, when both were hostages at Kandahar; from him descend the Eltarz Zai families of Baghwán and Kotrú.

Nasir Khan, originally a hostage at Kandahar, superseded his brother, Mohabat Khan, and ruled about forty years.

Haji Khan, died, a hostage, at Kandahar.

Mahmud Khan Mahomed Rehim Khan, slain by sister of Mastapha Khan.

Mastapha Khan, slain by his brother, Mahomed Rehim Khan.

Barham Khan, originally a hostage at Kandahar, unsuccessfully asserted his claims to the government with Nasir Khan and his son, Mahmud Khan. Died at Kalat.

Mehrab Khan,\* slain on the capture of his capital by the British.

Azem Khan, living at Kalat.

Sirafraz Khan, slain by Mehrab Khan, at the same time with Ahmed Yar Khan.

Ahmed Yar Khan, slain by Mehrab Khan the second year after his accession.

Hassan Khan, present chief of Kalat, with the assumed name of Mir Nasir Khan.

Shah Nawaz Khan.

Fatí Khan.

Retained in captivity by Mehrab Khan, from which they escaped; temporarily placed in power by the British.

\* Mehrab Khan had four wives. 1. A daughter of Mastapha Khan, the Bibí Ganjani. 2. A daughter of Jam Ali, late ruler of Las. 3. A daughter Eltarz Khan, Ahmed Zai of Kotrú, and mother of his son, Hassan Khan, the present Khan. 4. A daughter of Assil Khan, Shirwani, now a cripple.

## PART IV.

## ANTIQUITIES AND DIALECTS.

## ANTIQUITIES.

IN Balochistân we search in vain for the magnificent vestiges of the olden times, which are to be found in Afghânistân and Persia. This need not be a subject of wonder if we reflect that it has not, like those countries, ever been the seat of powerful and extensive empire, and that it was in the earliest ages in the same relation to them, with reference to advancement in civilization and political connexions, as it stands at the present day.

That it has been formerly much more populous can hardly be doubted, when we descry the sites of many cities, which have not now representatives; and when we observe the present villages had, at some remote period, predecessors of magnitude and importance. Many of the bleak, extensive plains, now speckled thinly with the black tents of tomâns, would seem to have once contained fixed villages and towns, if we may judge from their numerous dams, or artificial mounds,



which it is difficult to conceive as not representing the sites of ancient villages, or of the places of sepulchre attached to them.

From the earliest historical notices of this country, we may infer it to have been a dependency of the great Persian empire, and probably in the category of those which, from remoteness, were merely known by name at Persepolis. It fell, with Persia, into the hands of Alexander the Great, and was subject to the vicissitudes of sway, resulting from the struggles between his successors. It was naturally, from its distance, early included amongst the defections which happened under the Syro-Macedonian kings, but at a subsequent period, faint incidental rays of information might authorize us to conclude that it was again under the sway of another Greek, in the person of Demetrius, son of Euthydemus of Bactria, who appears to have founded a city in Arachosia, which, wherever it was, could not have been far from Kalât. Those overigns who succeeded to the authority of the Greek Bactrian princes, probably extended their way, and introduced their religion into these countries. A dark epoch then obscures the history of his country, until the era of Máhommedanism, when the armies of the caliphs overran Balochistân. That the caliphs did not retain permanent sway is evidenced by the fact, that a Hindú principality, additionally known as that of the Sewáh dynasty, flourished at Kalât until a comparatively late pe-

riod, and tenaciously maintained its independence amongst the Máhommedan states around it.

If the invasion of Jenghiz Khân, also asserted by tradition, be historically true, it may be conceived that that barbarous chief and his generals effectually completed the work of desolation which the caliphs had commenced some ages before. Ever at the mercy of any powerful invader, Kalât was afflicted by a visit from the generals of Taimúr, and, agreeably to his historian, was razed to the ground.

Of its Greek rulers we have no vestiges. It is not impossible that their coins may be occasionally elicited. Such reliques are found near Mastúg, at Mítarí, a town of Kach Gandâva, near Béla in Las, and on the site of an ancient city in Jhow, which tradition affirms to be that of a city founded by Alexander, also at a locality in Khárân, and at other places. Three or four years before my visit to Kalât, a silver medal, said to be as large as a German crown, with a bust on the one side, was found at Sorra Bek, a little north of Kalât. This town flourished in the time of the caliphs, according to the Nubian geographer mentioned by Wilford, and its site retains the original name.

Near Kalât we have the sites of three considerable cities; that of Sorra Bek, just mentioned, to the north; that of Kúkí, said to have been destroyed by Jenghiz Khân, near Rodinjo to the south;

and one, with name unknown, on the plain of Chappar, to the west. Besides the ancient sites at Mastúg, Mítarí, Béla, and Jhow, there are others at Khozdár, Kharân, Nushkí, &c., and very many in the western provinces, which, of necessity, fell not under my observation.

At Níchára, in the hills east of Kalât, are a few caves and cave temples. These excavations, the samúches of Afghânistân, now that we are fully acquainted with them, were certainly religious and sepulchral localities, or the abodes of the ascetics connected with them. At Níchára, a few years since, a proof of their nature was afforded by the accidental discovery of one heretofore closed, in which were found several corpses, according to my informant, arrayed in their habiliments, and extended on cháhárpáhís, or couches. They pulverized on being touched.

Some five or six miles from Níchára, on a plain occupied by the Jetaks, are said to be remains of an alleged city of the infidels, and, what is of more consequence, an inscription graven on a rock. My inquiries left me in little doubt of the truth of this record, and certainly I should have visited the spot but for the unfortunate outbreak in the country. It was impossible to ascertain from my informant in what characters it was inscribed.

At the ancient site, near Béla, may be dug up jars full of ashes. It is said, they contain nothing

else, but the probability is, that coins and trinkets might reward a careful search.

Amongst the extant remains of antiquity in Balochistân the more conspicuous are, perhaps, the walls and parapets of stones, called by the present inhabitants, Gohar Basta, or the works of infidels. They occur in many places to great extent, particularly at Lâkoriân, between Sohrâb and Bâghwân, in the contiguous plain of Anjîrá, on the road from Sohrâb to Kej, in the valley of the Múllôh river, and at Rodbâr, in the hills between Kalât and Kirta. Those at Lâkoriân are the most remarkable. The purpose of these structures may be questioned, but they are probably places of defence.

In the district of Gúrghína is a remarkable subterranean chamber, which was discovered some years since by workmen employed in the construction of a káréz. To their astonishment, they penetrated into an immense excavation, supposed to be artificial. It continued for a time an object of curiosity, but, so far as I could learn, was entirely devoid of sculpture or embellishment. It was conjectured to have been a retreat of refugees in time of war, at some remote period. Probably, it was a cemetery or temple, of past ages.

The maritime province of Las, besides the cave temples near Béla, contains a celebrated sthân, or place of Hindú pilgrimage. It is situated in the hills bounding the province to the west, and through which flows the Hingohl rivulet. The

sacred locality is called Hinglátz. It is understood to be consecrated to Parbatí, the goddess of nature, the universal mother, &c., or Diana, the moon, &c. By Máhommedans, by whom it is alike revered, the shrine is considered as one of Bíbí Nání, the lady Nání, or the motherly lady. It is possible they have preserved the ancient name NANAIA, that of the goddess of the old Persians, and Bactrians, and now so well known to us by coins. There is a small mat or temple at Hinglátz, but the chief attractions appear to be natural objects, as a kand, or reservoir of water; a well, of unfathomable depth, above the mat; and the semblance the mural disposition of the rock presents, in a certain spot, to that of a fortress. There are also said to be the figures of the sun and moon hewn on the rock, in an inaccessible site. It is necessary for pilgrims to remain two days amongst the holy shades and solitudes of Hinglátz, when they return, impressed with feelings of awe and devotion, inspired by the solemnity and mysterious grandeur of the sequestered haunts they have visited.

Many votaries and pilgrims proceed no farther than Hinglátz, but it is deemed to be especially praiseworthy and beneficial to extend the pious tour to Satadip, an island off the coast of Mekrân, and between Hormára and Pessaní. I was surprised at discovering that this celebrated island was no other than the Ashtola of our maps, the Asthílâl of Arabs and Baloches, the Carnina and Enchanted Isle of

Nearchus, and the Asthæ of Ptolemy. It afforded me pleasure, also, that I had anchored for the night under its bare rocks, in a trip in 1830 from Karáchí to Maskát, but it was difficult to imagine what circumstances had invested it with a sacred character. It was a sthân, I was told, called Rám Jelloh, without any particular natural object of interest or curiosity, and where it was needful to carry water for the time the devout stayed upon it, which, as at Hinglâtz, has been fixed by custom at two days.

The voyage of Nearchus conferred an interest upon the dreary shores of Las and Mekrân, which has been greatly enhanced to us by the lucid explanation of its details afforded by the late Dean Vincent. It is curious to discover that many of the appellations of localities, as named by the Greeks, are borne by them to this day. On the coast between the mouths of the Indus and Gwâdar, amongst the stations as given by Arrian, are, Malana, Araba, Kalama, Derenobosa, Kophas, all recognizable in the present Malân, Araba, Kalamat, Darambâb, and Kaphân, of the rude natives. The port of Alexander, unfixed by the learned Dean, I should suppose to be Karáchí, which he conjectured to be Krokala, though this place was an island, not a port; and, in confirmation of my view, the next station to the port of Alexander was the island Bibacta, which well accords with the island Chirna of the Sindians.

The Carnina of Arrian has been above shown to be the Asthæa of Ptolemy, and its name to Baloches and Arabs is yet Asthí-lâl. With so many recognizable stations in a limited space, it becomes easy to determine the intermediate ones, some of which even may pretty certainly be decided by their present appellations; for instance, Mosarna may be conceived to be Mosam, or Shamâl Bandar; Domo may be Dúmag, &c.

Of the routes of Alexander and his officers through the upper country, it will have been remarked, that tradition seems to have preserved a memento, in the belief that a city in Jhow owed its origin to him, and, if so, it must have been the Alexandria he founded amongst the Oritæ. Craterus, who led the veterans by a still higher route, passed through Choarene, whose position as fixed by Strabo, has puzzled his commentators, yet it may have been the modern Khâran, if not the Kâwer Zámín of oriental writers.

## DIALECTS.

It has been observed, that the division of the Kalât territory into sections conformably to circumstances of locality, was alike sanctioned by the diversity of dialects current in the several provinces. The tribes of the first, or western section, use what is pre-eminently called the Baloch, which

extends to the limits of Kermân, and is considered the genuine dialect of the Baloch community. Its affinity with modern Persian cannot be doubted, though it has, probably, preserved a greater proportion of the forms of its parent tongue. Some of the Jhálawân tribes, as the Minghals and Bízúnjús, and even some of the tribes included within the Rind community, employ this dialect, which is also spoken constantly by the khâns and sirdárs, who consider it would be vulgar to express their meaning in Brahúíkí.

The Bráhúíkí, or Kúr Gâlli (the Patois), is peculiar to the tribes of Sahárawân and Jhálawân. It necessarily contains a good deal of Baloch, or Persian, and a very little Pashto, but much of it must be referred to some unknown root. The only work I could hear of in this dialect was not original, but translated from a Persian treatise on the greatness of God and wonders of the creation. Persian characters were used in it.

The Jets of Kachí have a dialect, called, after them, Jetkí, of close affinity with the dialects of the Sind and of the Panjâb, which have been supposed to approach, more than any other extant tongues, to Sanscrit; and this affinity is only in accordance with their origin and descent.

The Lúmrí tribes of Las speak the dialect common to the kindred tribes of Júkíás and Búlfats in the west of Sind, and allied to that prevalent in the tracts on either bank of the Indus in the inferior



part of its course. The dialect of Sind may be nearly the same as that called Zend, which has excited so much controversy, however the last may have been corrupted or mixed with neighbouring dialects, as Guzarátí, &c.; the appellation Zend may be no more than the equivalent for Sind, for the country now so called was once styled Sand, if Pliny's testimony be accepted, that "Indus, Sandus ab incolis appellatus." Aware of the fact that a family of Zends still flourishes in Persia, we are equally certain, that from an ancient date colonies from Sind have been located at Kermân. The Zends made themselves conspicuous in their contests for sovereignty with the reigning Turkí dynasty of Kajars, and their opponents, in their public documents invariably conferred upon them the contemptuous appellation of Bakhâls, the term applied also to Hindús; and this, no doubt, with reference to their known descent and emigration from Sind, the country of Hindús.

The Déhwârs of Kalât, identical with the Tâjiks of Afghânistân and Túrkestân, have, in common with them, the Persian, or what is so called, for their vernacular dialect, while the Afghâns of Shâll, of course, use Pashto.

The nature of the two dialects particularly in vogue with the Baloch and Bráhúí tribes will be best understood by the annexed vocabularies; and they may be useful whether for reference or comparison.

## VOCABULARY OF THE BALUCH DIALECT.

Nail	Náhún.	Date	Hormag.
Breast	Ghwen-sína.	Sword	Záham.
Belly	Láp.	Shield	Hisfar.
Leg	Pád.	Matchlock	Tofak.
Thigh	Pádí baz ghúst.	Spear	Nizzar.
Knee	Pádí khúnd.	Knife	Kárch.
Calf of leg	Húsh-pádag.	Bullet	Tír.
Foot	Panjak.	Ramrod	Tír-koh.
Ankle	Kar.	Powder	Shúrú.
Heel	Púnzig.	Sight at muzzle	Morag.
Toes	Múrdánag.	Sight at breech	Dídarfán.
Sole of foot	Pádí-dil.	Pan	Gúshawand.
Vein	Ragh.	Match	Fallítæg.
Navel	Nápag.	Screw	Házárnar.
Armpit	Bagal.	Butt	Kúndak.
Bone	Had.	Sea shell	Ghúr.
Flesh	Ghúst.	Stone	Sing.
Lip	Lúnt.	Mud	Liggitch.
Palm of hand	Dast-dil.	Rope	Chílik.
Dog	Kaochak.	Wood	Dár.
Cat	Pishí.	Paper	Kággiz.
Rat	Múshk.	Cotton	Karpás.
Horse	Hásp.	Comb	Shak.
Camel	Húshter.	Leather	Drohál.
Elephant	Píl.	Black	Síáh.
Ass	Har.	White	Sífét.
Cock	Nerak.	Green	Saoz.
Hen	Mádak.	Red	Súr.
Kine	Gúk.	Scarlet	Réto.
Cow	Gúk mádak.	Yellow	Zard.
Bull	Gháríghar.	Blue	Níl.
Buffalo	Ghá-mésh.	Tree	Derách.
Fish	Máhí.	Fruit	Bar.
Sheep	Mésh.	Root	Rotag.
Goat	Búz.	Stem	Dar.
Water Melon	Kotig.	Branch	Shágh.

Leaf	Tág.	To speak	Gwáshtan.
Flower	Púl.	To burn	Sútan.
Date tree	Match.	To fall	Koftan.
Wind	Ghwát.	To stand	Pádátan.
Nor.-west-wind	Jil-ghwát.	To give	Dátan.
South-east-wind	Sir-ghwát.	To throw	Dúrdátan.
North-wind	Gorích.	To carry	Búrtan.
South-wind	Zir-ghwát.	To flee	Gistan.
Shirt	Jáma.	To eat	Wártan.
Trowsers	Shelwar.	To bring	Hártan.
Cap	Toph.	To wash	Shústan.
Shoes	Kosh.	To sit	Nishtan.
Boots	Múzag.	To write	Nawishtan.
Waist-shawl	Sirinband.	To kill	Kúshtan.
Head-shawl	Fogh.	To walk	Gashtan.
Band of trowser	Pai-in-jag.	To walk	Maidán kartan.
Ant	Múrí.	To fear	Társítan.
Fly	Makish.	To laugh	Handítan.
Flea	Kak.	To measure	Gaz kartan.
Louse	Búr.	To break	Proshtan.
Good	Sher.	To see	Díshstan.
Bad	Gandag.	To sew	Dotan.
Light	Súbak.	To scrape	Tráshtan.
Heavy	Gárán.	To reckon	Issâbkartan.
Small	Kassán.	To do well	Shar kartan.
Large	Massán.	To open	Patch kartan.
Thick	Baz.	To tie	Bastan.
Thin	Tannak.	To come	Háhtan.
Fire	Ora.	To read	Wántan.
Water	Háp.	To sleep	Waftan.
Cup	Tás.	To awake	Nashtan.
Dish	Tál.	To dry	Kúsk kartan.
Earthern vessel	Kúlak.	To rub	Lúrtan.
Frying-pan	Kallind.	To pay	Pirmátan.
Fort	Kalát.	To fly (as a bird)	Bál kartan.
Ship	Bújí.	To plunder	Lútítan.
Sea	Deríá.	To milk	Doshtan.
To do	Kartan.	To fight	Jang kartan.
To be	Shútan.	To boil	Grastan.

To receive	Rasítan.	To beat	Lat jitten.
To pick up or find	Chítan.	To wound	Záham jittan.
To kiss	Chúk-kítan.	To fire	Tofak jittan.
To kick	Laggat jittan.	To hit	Laggítan.
To bite	Gat-girtan.	Door	Darí.
To blind	Cham kúshtan.	Window	Darwáza.
To flog	Chábak jittan.	Ladder	Pádí-ánk.
		Pen	Kalam.

## VOCABULARY OF KUR GALLI, OR THE BRAHUIKI DIALECT.

Bread	Irag.	Nostril	Gránz.
Water	Dír.	Eyebrows	Burwâk.
Eye	Kan.	Eyelash	Michách.
Mouth	Bár.	Mustachio	Birút.
Tooth	Dandân.	Chin	Zanú.
Tongue	Darí.	Temple	Kúsh.
Nose	Bámús.	Father	Báwar.
Ear	Kaf.	Mother	Lúma.
Arm	Dú.	Son	Mahal.
Leg	Nat.	Daughter	Masír.
Finger	Or-pindí.	Brother	Ilam.
Nail	Had.	Sister	Ir.
Forehead	Káhtam.	Uncle paternal	Brâder-báwa.
Hair	Puzhar.	Aunt paternal	Ir-báwa.
Belly	Pid.	Grandfather	Pader-báwa.
Heart	Ust.	Grandmother	Lúma-báwa
Neck	Lekh.	Husband	Harí
Waist	Múkh.	Wife	Harvat.
Nipple	Kad.	Marriage	Báram.
Breast	Pehlú.	Heir	Wáris.
Beard	Rísh.	Inheritance	Mírás.
Lip	Júr.	Year	Sál.
Cheek	Kallak.	Month	Tú.
Bone	Had.	Day	Dé.
Blood	Dittar.	Night	Nan.
Vein	Rágh.	Winter	Sehl.

Summer	Tir-mâh.	Wind	Thow.
Autumn	Írícha.	Tempest	Tofân.
Spring	Hâtam.	Rainbow	Bílasúm.
North	Kotab.	Rabbit	Múru.
South	Sohél.	Sheep	Méhl.
East	Dé-tik.	Ram	Khar.
West	Kébíla.	Kine	Kharâss.
River	Daríá.	Bull	Kárighar.
Hill	Bot.	Cow	Daggí
Mountain	Mash.	Horse	Húli.
Plain	Dan.	Stallion	Náriân.
Valley	Dara.	Mare	Mádíân.
Defile	Tang.	Fowl	Kokar.
Rivulet	Nala.	Cock	Bangú.
Well	Dún.	Hen	Mákiân.
Fountain	Chushmeh.	Dog	Kúchik.
Rain	Píhar.	Cat	Pishí.
Road	Kassar.	Camel	Húce.
Sand	Régh.	She-goat	Hét.
Stone	Khal.	Ant	Morink.
Clay	Litchak.	Spider	Moro.
Wood	Pát.	Fly	Hílt.
Fire	Khâka.	Bee	Hílt-sháhid.
Heat	Básúní.	Ass	Bish.
Flame	Lamba.	Wasp	Múngihí.
Charcoal	Pog.	Snake	Dúshar.
Ashes	Hiss.	Fish	Mâhi.
Smoke	Múlt.	Crow	Khâkú.
Darkness	Tar-mâh.	Matchlock	Tofak.
Cloud	Jamma.	Shield	Hisper.
Thunder	Húra.	Sword	Zâhgam.
Lightning	Garúk.	Knife	Kattár.
Sky	Asmân.	Spear	Nizzer.
Earth	Dagghár.	Bow	Bil.
Sun	Dé (day Celtic)	Arrow	Súm.
Moon	Túví.	War	Jang.
Star	Istár.	Peace	Khair.
Snow	Barf.	Mine	Kahân.
Hail	Tronghúr.	Gold	Kísún.

Silver	Píhún.	Sugar	Kand.
Copper	Miss.	Colour	Rang.
Brass	Brinj.	Yellow	Poshkún.
Iron	Ahín.	Red	Kisún.
Steel	Polád.	Black	Mohan.
Lead	Súrf.	Blue	Karúr.
Tin	Kalláhí.	White	Píhún.
Quicksilver	Párra.	Olive-green	Ghwankí.
Antimony	Súrma.	Flower	Pool.
Sulphur	Gogard.	Tree	Darakht.
Alum	Fitkí.	Leaf	Berg.
Marble	Sang marmar.	Fort	Kot.
Flint	Istárkal.	Tower	Túl.
Pearl	Dúr.	Ditch	Kandak.
Cornelian	Akík.	House	Khúdí.
Diamond	Almâss.	Door	Dargah.
Ruby	Lál yákút.	Grape	Hangúr.
Emerald	Zamrúd.	Water melon	Kútík.
Turquoise	Ferozeh.	Musk melon	Kerbuj.
Coral	Mírjân.	Mint	Púrchink.
Crystal	Balor.	Camomile	Bú-mádarán.
Grain	Ghalla.	Disease	Merz.
Flour	Nút.	Fever	Khel.
Clarified butter	Sí.	Ague	Larza.
Butter	Kassí.	Life	Zindeh.
Cheese	Pánír.	Death	Kask.
Milk	Pál.	Laughter	Makh-khék.
Meat	Sú.	Weeping	Hoyikh.
Oil	Tél.	Cap	Top.
Egg	Baidár.	Chudder	Khérí.
Wax	Múm.	Waist-band	Mokta.
Honeycomb	Angúmen.	Shirt	Khúss.
Leather	Chirm.	Trowsers	Shelwár.
Salt	Bí.	Man	Bandak.
Rice	Brinj.	Woman	Zaífa.
Barley	Sár.	Kiss	Búzhalk.
Júarí	Júarí.	Rope	Réz.
Madder	Rodan.	Cord	Chit.
Pepper	Filfil.	Saddle	Zén.

Dust	Mish.	Long	Múrghún.
Shoes	Múcharí.	Broad	Ghwand.
Carpet	Gállí.	High	Burz.
Felt	Tappar.	Low	Mandar.
Mortar	Johghan.	Good	Sher.
Pistle	Dastí-johghan.	Bad	Gandar.
Ship	Bérí.	Swift	Zaft.
Fruit	Míwár.	Slow	Karár.
Comb	Iriss.	Heavy	Kobín.
Scissors	Kaichí.	Light	Subak.
Chain	Zamzír.	Dry	Bahlúm.
Nail	Mékh.	Wet	Pahlúm.
Stick	Lat.	Near	Khúrk.
Cotton	Pamba.	Distant	Múr.
Afraid	Kolík.	Left	Chap.
Brave	Bahádar.	Right	Râst.
Beautiful	Sher.	True	Râsht.
Ugly	Gandar.	False	Darogh.
Dry	Malláss.	Glad	Khúsh.
Hungry	Bíngún.	Angry	Khar.
Naked	Lagghar.	Hard	Sakht.
Poor	Garíb.	Soft	Kúlbán.
Wealthy	Dolatman.	Cold	Yákht.
Equal	Barober.	Hot	Basún.
Old	Pír.	Painful	Khal.
Young	Warnar.	Weary	Damdarúk.
Old	Wútkún.	Vigilant	Híshíár.
New	Púskún.	Mad	Ganuk.
Much	Baz.	Slain	Kassífí.
Little	Machí.	Before	Awal.
All	Khúl.	After	Gúdah.
Half	Ním.	Yes	Jí or há.
Dear	Kúben.	No	Na or ná.
Cheap	Azán.	Which ?	Errár ?
Bitter	Karén.	Why ?	Antai ?
Sour	Súr.	Where ?	Errang ?
Sweet	Hanén.	This	Dar.
Big	Balún.	That	Hí.
Small	Chunak.	Another	Pén.

Without doors	Péshan.	To read	Khwânníng.
Within doors	Tartí.	To repose	Damdanníng.
Before	Múst.	To fly	Báll-kanníng.
Behind	Pizír.	To approve	Pasand-kan- níng.
To give	Tenning.	To call	Khwâst-kan- níng.
To grind	Núsing.	To milk	Bíring.
To see	Khanníng.	To taste	Chakking.
To sleep	Kaching.	To fight	Jang-kanníng.
To go	Inning.	To boil	Júsh-kanníng.
To come	Banning.	To pull	Pashing.
To cut	Terring.	To kiss	Pak-kanníng.
To hear	Benning.	To scrape	Tráshíng.
To laugh	Makhíng.	To twist	Péching.
To sit	Tuling.	To die	Kahíng.
To know	Shâhíng.	To bite	Báhshâhghíng.
To burn	Húshíng.	To open	Ithíng.
To fall	Tamíng.	To measure	Dahghíng.
To stand	Selling.	Todrop (as rain)	Chakking.
To throw	Shâhghíng.	To kick	Laggat-kal- líng.
To build	Júr-kanníng.	To tear	Párrah-kan- níng.
To flee	Nerring.	To shade	Saikar-kanníng.
To sew	Múchíng.	To sit in sun	Dé-í-tuling.
To carry	Danning.	To speak false	Darogh páníng.
To eat	Kuning.	To weigh	Túl kanníng.
To bring	Atníng.	To swim	Tár kanníng.
To do	Kanníng.	To sink	Gark-manníng.
To strike	Kallíng.	To count	Yártíllíng.
To weep	Okhíng.	To fear	Khúlíng.
To want	Allíng.	To rest	Karár kanníng.
To wash	Selling.	To forgive	Bashking.
To break	Perghíng.	To ask	Arfíng.
To bind	Taffíng.	To reap (grain)	Rúting.
To sow	Dassing.	To tremble	Larzíng.
To pass over	Illíng.	To gather	Arraffíng.
To write	Nawishta-kan- níng.	To sweep	Rufíng.
To kill	Kasfíng.		
To find	Khanníng.		
To seize	Hallíng.		



To steal	Dúzí kanning.	He has spoken	Paré kanní.
To walk	Cherring.	He may have	
To spit	Tuf kanning.	spoken	Paré sakní.
To embrace	Bagal kan- ning.	He may speak	Akhar páyik- ní.
To speak	Páning.	Speak	Pâ-kanní.
He speaks	Páyikrrí.	Let him speak	Pâ-wanní.
I did speak	Párét.	One	Assit.
He did speak	Paré.	Two	Irat.
He spoke	Parétní.	Three	Músit.

(In advance, precisely as Persian, cháhár, pánych, &c., &c.)

## PART V.

## MILITARY FORCE, REVENUE, TRADE, AGRICULTURE, &amp;c.

## MILITARY FORCE.

IN treating on this subject, it is necessary to make clear distinction between the military resources of the country at large, and those at command of the supreme chief. The former, in a population where every individual capable of bearing arms may, in one sense, be esteemed a soldier, is considerable; the latter, from various incidental causes, may be very trifling. Numerical statements might be furnished, showing the number of men each tribe is capable of mustering, according to the accounts of the natives themselves, but these would, of course, be palpably exaggerated. Others might be offered, exhibiting the quotas of men each tribe is bound to provide for the public service on any case of emergency; but these, although somewhat official documents, would not be the less deceptive, and they were, perhaps, originally framed with a view to deceive, for no such quotas are ever pro-

vided, and never could be. The point most essential to know, is the force that the supreme chief can bring into the field, and this may be ascertained from experience. Nasír Khân, a prince of great vigour and popularity, assembled armies of thirty thousand men. His son, Máhmúd Khân, congregated bodies of fifteen thousand and twenty thousand men; while the late Mehráb Khân, from his schisms with the tribes, his poverty and unpopularity, had never been enabled to collect a larger force than twelve thousand men. This number is merely what some of the tribes, however incorrectly, are stated to be capable of furnishing singly. It is in instances of hostility between the respective tribes that their strength is developed. On such occasions the whole, excited by common feeling and impulse, stand forward with alacrity; and their contests are brought to a prompt conclusion, the parties interested being unable to subsist their followers, and consequently to carry on a protracted warfare. Another reason inducing a full attendance of the tribes in their individual strifes, may be noted, without an imputation on their courage, viz. the certainty, nearly, that no serious collision will take place; women and saiyads being ever at hand to intervene between the angry hosts, to seize their firelocks, and to forbid their deadly designs; the former, by affecting appeals to the kinder sensibilities of nature, the latter authoritatively, as descendants of the Prophet, and in the solemn

name of religion, which proscribes civil warfare amongst its followers. By such instrumentality temporary arrangements are concluded, in nine out of ten cases, without actual bloodshed, or, after the exchange of a volley by each party, if such a demonstration be deemed necessary.

The quotas of troops supplied by the tribes for the service of government of course fluctuate according to the popularity of the khân, or of his cause, and are always very much dependent on the wills of the several sirdárs, who may be ill or well affected to the government of the day, as the case may be. The claim by the supreme chief on the tribes for military service, is universally acknowledged, it being the condition on which they hold their lands, exempt from taxations and imposts of whatever kind.

The supreme chief has a number, greater or less, of hired soldiers, receiving pay and other allowances. These attend him for the purposes of the little display and etiquette thought necessary at a Bráhúí court, and on his excursions. They also furnish garrisons, if from paucity of numbers they can be so called, for the towns he holds personally, as Kalât, Quetta, Mastúng, Dádar, Bâgh, Nasírábád, Gandâva, Hárand, Dájil, &c. They are also employed on various commissions or detached duty to the provinces, as Kej, Panjghúr, &c. The chief has also many slaves, or khânazâdas, and the late Mehráb Khân had so many of these that he had

very few retainers besides them. They are preferred to high appointments, and they have their own hired followers, who may be considered to form part of the khân's force. It is obvious that the number of men in the pay of the supreme chief is a pretty sure criterion of his prosperity. Nasír Khân had a small standing army, as had his son and successor, Máhmúd Khân. The latter had even troops dressed in red jackets, in imitation of an Indian battalion; and one of his brothers, Mastapha Khân, had in his pay a body of eight hundred Afghân horse, excellently equipped and mounted. These have now disappeared, and Mehráb Khân, nearly destitute of troops in his own pay, was compelled, on the slightest cause for alarm, to appeal to the tribes, who attended or otherwise, as suited their whims or convenience, conscious that he was powerless to enforce their obedience or to punish their contumacy.

## REVENUE.

The revenue of the khân of Kalât, considered relatively to the very large extent of country which acknowledges, in some way or other, dependence upon him, is a mere trifle. My friends at Kalât did not suppose that it exceeded three lákhs of rupees. The cause is found in the circumstance that all the lands held by the Bráhuí tribes are

exempt from taxation. The chief's revenue is therefore derived from the towns he occupies himself, from the Afghân agriculturists of Shâll, the Déhwâr agriculturists of Mastúng, Kalât, Níchára, &c., the Jet agriculturists of Kach Gandâva ; from duties on trade and kâfilas, and from remittances from the provinces. The tax on agricultural produce is variously levied on different classes. The Déhwârs pay a third of the produce, or séhkót. From the Jets of Kachí, half of the produce, or nímaghí, is levied. From the provinces, a fourth, fifth, or sixth part of the produce is claimed, according to their contiguity to the capital, and the chance of being able to procure it. From the remoter ones, as Kej and Panjghúr, a tenth only of the produce is demanded.

## TRADE.

The trade of Balochistân is of comparatively little importance, being limited chiefly to the internal sale and exchange of commodities, the state of civilization not being such as to be attended with a luxurious mode of dress and living, or such as to have induced that condition of society which renders it dependent upon foreign markets for the supply of its members. The more opulent here, as everywhere else, affect a distinction in dress and habits, which provides for the sale

of a few of the manufactures of the stranger; but a vast change must take place before Balochistân can become a country of importance to the merchant, at least to take off his investments. In articles of export, she has an advantage in the fine wool of her fleeces, which, although I believe not superior to that of the flocks of Afghânistân and of the Hazárajât, is excellent of its kind, and may be produced in large quantities, for the sheep producing it thrive through all the extent of country from Wad to Shâll, in the Kalât dominions. The facility of conveying it to a port makes it more valuable. Besides wool, the only articles exported from Sahárawân and Jhálawân are a little madder from Shâll, Mastúng, and Kalât, almonds from Mastúng, and a little grain from Khozdár and the neighbourhood, which, attracted by high prices, finds its way to Bombay. From Núshkí small quantities of assafoetida, and from Kach Gandâva sulphur, are also articles of export. At Kalât, and generally in Sahárawân, horses are reared, and they are often sent for shipment to the coast. The maritime provinces nominally dependent on Kalât carry on an export and import trade with foreign ports. The exports are roghan and hides, the gum called bdellium, with salted fish and isinglass, the latter being sent to Bombay for the Chinese market! The imports are rice, spices, indigo, wood, metals, calicoes, chintzes, and a multitude of miscellaneous articles. At Kalât are con-

siderable numbers of Afghân merchants, as Bá-bís, who migrated from Kândahár in the time of Ahmed Shâh, were expelled by Mohábat Khân, and recalled by Nasír Khân, and of various tribes who have retired to Kalât to avoid the oppression of the chiefs of Kândahár. These undertake annual commercial excursions to Las, Sind, and Bombay ; but the greater part of them trade on Hindú capital. There are numerous Hindú merchants and bankers at Kalât, and at Kotrú in Kach Gandâva. To the latter place they have retired from Bâgh, formerly a place of importance, but it has declined. Quetta, Mastúng, Dádar, and Dájil, are places of some trade.

Nasír Khân gave every encouragement to trade ; Máhmúd Khân did not discourage it ; but Mehráb Khân, from the weakness of his government, rather than from his oppressive measures, considerably injured it. From himself, merchants enjoyed all security, but the exactions made on the kâfila routes, and above all, the circulation of a base currency, severely impeded commercial pursuits. During the reigns of Nasír Khân and of his son, there were many Jews at Kalât ; at present there are none. They are yet spoken of, and appear to have participated in the financial affairs of the state, and, what may be thought singular, they were eventually losers. That they were held in respect, may be inferred from the terms applied in discours-



ing of them, their names being always prefaced by the honorary appellation of Agá.

Some important commercial routes traverse Eastern Balochistân. The more celebrated is that from Shikárpúr to Kândahár, crossing the level plains of Kach Gandâva, passing through the long and dangerous defiles of the Bolan, and opening upon Quetta, from which routes diverge upon Kalât, Núshkí, Kândahár, Ghazní, and Kâbal. Another route, nearly as excellent, particularly for camel-kâfilas, leads from Súnmiání to Kalât, and thence to Kândahár and Kâbal. This route may be calculated at forty camel-marches between Súnmiání and Kândahár, but is still much the shortest route by which that city can be gained from the coast. The route from Shikárpúr to Kândahár I traversed with a kâfila in 1828, and was above a month on the march. From Shikárpúr to the coast must be above twenty camel-marches. Another travelled route from the coast, is that from the port of Karáchí, which passes along the western frontier of Sind, to Jell, the town of the Magghazzís,—thence it leads to Kalât by the circuitous route of the Múlloh river, or, passing on to Bâgh, falls into the high-road from Shikárpúr. This road is unexceptionable to kâfilas with camels. Kâfilas pass occasionally from Kalât to Kej, Panjghúr, Dájil, &c., less frequently to Ghazní and Kâbal.

## AGRICULTURE.

The agriculture of Balochistân is still in a primitive state, and probably has continued for ages on the same level of mediocrity. Wheat is the principal object of cultivation, and the bulk of it is grown on lands called khúshk âwâh, which owe their fertility to the rains. On these, if the vernal rains have been sufficiently abundant, seed is inserted; and the crops, if not extremely productive, are at least moderately so, and the grain is esteemed good. The wheat most prized in Balochistân, and whose quality has become proverbial, is that grown on the khúshk âwâh lands of Kapútú, east by south of Kalât. There are two species of wheat cultivated, the common, or white grain, and the Shoráwak, or red grain. The latter is preferred. Those extensive and bleak plains which, to the traveller, in the latter months of the year, present a chilling and repulsive appearance, overspread with weeds and thorny plants, in the spring are clothed with the vivid verdure of rising harvests, and nod in summer with their matured fruits. The deficiency of rain is, however, to be dreaded, and its absence is inevitably followed by scarcity and high prices. In Sahárawân the harvests are collected by the end of June. In Jhálawân fifteen or twenty days earlier. The districts most famed for wheat are Sohráb, Bâghwân, Khozdár, and Nâll, or those of Jhálawân, as to

quantity; and those of the capital and of Sahárawân as to quality. Bullocks are used in ploughing the soil; camels rarely.

Rice is cultivated in the districts of Shâll and Mastúng, also at Kirta, Rodbár, Johân, &c.; indeed, in the valleys, amongst the ranges east of Kalât, it is an object of general attention. The valleys of Pándérân and Zehrí, south of Kalât, also yield it abundantly, and it is grown in many spots along the course of the Múllôh river. The produce of Pándérân and of Rodbár is prized. Gáll and gállachí, varieties of millet, are both cultivated. The grain is employed in the preparation of bread eaten by the poorer classes. These crops are of rapid growth, hence they generally succeed crops of wheat on soils which have the advantage of being irrigated, and whose fertility is supported by manure. The harvest of those about Kalât immediately precedes the setting in of the cold weather.

Júárí and bájra are cultivated but partially, on harsh, dry soils. These grains form the chief objects of culture in Kach Gandâva.

Maize, or Indian corn, is a still rarer object of culture; neither is nákod abundantly grown.

Múng is much cultivated in Zehrí in many of the valleys amongst the hills east of Kalât, along the course of the Múllôh river, and in most of the districts of Jhálawân.

Tobacco is grown, in fair quantities, in the vicinities of Kalât and Mastúng. It is an article of

export, but, although good, is inferior to that of Kândahár.

A large cultivation of aspúst, or lucerne, the spíshta of the Afghâns and rishka of the people of Kâbal, is general along the whole line of cultivated tracts, from Khozdâr, northward, to Shâll. It appears an excellent and profitable object of culture, requiring renewal but once in six or seven years. Due irrigation and manure are necessary, and with such attention it yields six successive crops during the year. In the environs of Kândahár so many as ten crops of this grass through the season attest the superiority of the soil.

Mangel-wurzel, or, as called at Kalât, lab-lab, is grown in small quantities, but is merely made use of as a condiment by man, when previously boiled.

The cotton-plant is produced scantily in Jhálawân, and along the Múlloh river. It is an object of more attention in Kach Gandâva. From its seeds a coarse lamp oil is pressed. Sircham, or sesamum, is one of the oleaceous plants cultivated, and a pure bland oil is also extracted from the kernels of apricots.

Melons, both musk and water, are raised on so large a scale that they seem entitled to be considered when treating on agricultural subjects; moreover they receive the attention of the zamíndár, or farmer, not of the bâghwân, or gardener. The grounds on which they are raised are called pález. Pálézes are everywhere found throughout Baloch-

istân. Whether of good or bad quality, melons are the universal fruit of all varieties of climate, and of all classes. The produce of the temperate regions of Sahárawân is superior, and the fruits of Mastúng are pre-eminent. For the large demands of the capital, extensive melon grounds are annually formed on the plain of Chappar, west of it.

## HORTICULTURE.

To the example and encouragement of Nasír Khân the inhabitants of Kalât are indebted for the various gardens in the neighbourhood of their city. This wise prince, who really seems to have had the welfare and comfort of his subjects at heart, distributed premiums to such of them as devoted their labours to horticulture. He made grants of land, and gave the proprietors documents, on the authority of which, water for their necessary irrigation, is supplied free of charge and for ever. His son, Máhmúd Khân, did not interfere with the proprietors of gardens. His own garden, or Bâgh-Khân, he consecrated entirely to Flora, and amid a profusion of roses, jasmines, and the many-coloured gúl-abbâs, was wont to spend days together, exhilarated by wine and music, and surrounded by dancing-girls. Under Mehráb Khân, improvement in horticultural pursuits, as in all others, ceased, and Bâgh-Khân became a wilderness. The fruit trees,

however, planted in the time of Nasír Khân, have attained maturity, and the people who enjoy their rich treasures in succession, laud the provident and beneficent care of their former sovereign. The fruit tree which seems most kindly to accord with the climate and soil of Balochistân, is the zardálu, or apricot. It is found southerly, so far south as Wad. The number of these trees at Mastúg is immense, and their fruit is dried to a large extent annually. The mulberries of Kalât are inferior, if we except the shâh tút, or royal mulberry, which occurs but rarely. On the other hand the mulberries of Mastúg enjoy a great fame, and are extremely abundant, while they are of numerous varieties. The apple-tree does not particularly thrive in this part of the country; its fruit is small, and its varieties are confined to two or three. It is not largely propagated. Neither is the pear-tree more excellent; there is but one variety, a small and moderately flavoured fruit. Quinces, plums, peaches, &c., are to be procured, but not plentifully. Pomegranates are few at Kalât, and, indeed, throughout Sahárawân; in Jhálawân they are more abundant, and attain greater perfection. Those of Dádar are highly prized. Mastúg is proverbially the garden of Sahárawân, and has numerous vineyards, which yield excellent grapes, while the few grown at Kalât are indifferent. The black grapes of Karâní, a village near Quetta, are esteemed, as are those of Ghazg, a valley in the hills north-east of

Kalât. Mastúng has numerous groves of almond trees, whose fruit forms an article of export, and there, as well as at Kalât, and other places, the banks of the canals of irrigation are fringed with sanjit trees. A country embracing so many gradations in climate as Balochistân affords scope for the production of most kinds of fruit. The mango-tree flourishes at Béla, in Las, and is not found in Kach Gandâva, only because it has not been introduced.

The tamarind, which would thrive in most situations in Las, is found only at a zíarat in the hills, where its presence is imputed to a miracle. Kach Gandâva, capable of producing all the fruits of hot countries, yields only limes and pomegranates, in gardens; and about villages the transplanted hér, or jujubes. The province of Panjghúr has excellent dates.

Amongst the vegetables cultivated, are the turnip, carrot, egg-plant, radish, kaddú—a species of gourd—cucumber, kolfah—a mucilaginous plant—fenugreek, onions, mustard, and spinach.

Amongst the flowers, and flowering-shrubs, are observed the rose, jasmine, narcissus, red, white, and yellow varieties of the gúl abbás, stocks, sunflowers, prince's-feather; French and African marigolds, hollyhocks, china-asters, and Indian pinks.

## PART VI.

## MANNERS, CUSTOMS, &amp;c.

THE contemplation of a rude and unenlightened race may offer little attraction, but is necessary to those who would trace mankind through its several gradations of society and improvement; nor can it be neglected by those who would wish to form a correct estimate of human nature.

The tribes of Balochistân hold but an inferior rank in the grand scale of society, whether as regards their intellectual advancement or their acquaintance with the arts of life; yet, with the errors and excesses generally attendant upon ignorance and a savage state, they have some good natural qualities, and many of those virtues which seem to glow and flourish with brighter lustre and strength under the shade of the barbarian's tent, than under the more costly canopy which civilization expands over the heads of her refined sons.

A commendable trait in the Bráhuí character is the practice of zang, or hospitality. The person of a guest is held sacred, and the rites of friendship are never refused. If a traveller be seen approaching a tomân, its inmates spread, without their tents,



carpets or felts for him to sit and repose upon. If he be tired, after a long march, it is usual to furnish oil, that he may anoint his weary limbs. On his departure, the traveller is accompanied a short distance on the road, his entertainer carrying, for the time, his musket, or other article of weight. Some of the western tribes, particularly the Mehmanís, although they respect the traveller when their guest, and would defend him at the risk of life, even against relatives, make no scruple, like Arabs of the desert, of assaulting him when he may have passed their roof. The traveller amongst them requires other safeguards than the deference due to his character as a guest.

Without the harsh, austere manners of the Afghân pastoral tribes, the Bráhuís are less bigoted, indeed are rather careless as to religious observances and ceremonies; and not only are they lax on the point of prayers, so regularly observed by the Afghâns, but very few of their tomâns are furnished even with a masjit, or place of worship. Máhommedanism with them, as with many barbarous races, has degenerated into the homage paid to shrines and saiyads.

The Baloch tribes, although they may be brought to act in concert on questions affecting the general interests of the community, have very distinct and jealous feelings towards each other. Between many of them, blood feuds of old standing prevail, and their discords are encouraged by the khân and his government for the sake of maintaining ascendancy

over them, according to the maxim, *divide et impera*. This policy prevents so cordial an union amongst the tribes as might endanger the khân's authority, and enables him, on the revolt of some, to direct against them the resources of others. Blood feuds, once created, can hardly be extinguished, and the tribes, in their conflicts, balance the accounts of slain on either side. A regular debtor and creditor account is kept, and the number of men and women for whom khún-bâwar, or satisfaction in blood, is required, is carefully treasured in memory.

The intestine wars amongst the Bráhuís are not generally attended with much bloodshed. After the first attack, or onset, in which three or four persons on either side may be slain, it is customary for women and saiyads to interpose, and to seize the matchlocks of the combatants, when hostilities invariably cease, and temporary arrangements are made. The women and saiyads, indeed, frequently prevent collision.

The Bráhuís of all tribes respect in their frays the lives of women, and if any of these should be slain or wounded, as may sometimes happen, it is the effect of accident, and is considered a great calamity.

The value of human life is but slightly appreciated throughout Balochistân, if we may judge from the frequency of murders, and the apathy which attends their perpetration. No tie of con-

sanguinity is a sufficient protection from the purfity of unnatural relatives. The domestic history of the greater portions of the chiefs of the several tribes furnishes a surprising and disgusting recital of crimes and treasons, and there is scarcely one of them whose hands are not imbrued with the life's blood of his kinsmen.

The Afghân plunders, but does not kill, except in extreme cases, or of resistance. The solitary Baloch robber places himself in ambush, and shoots his victim, before he despoils him. In their large forays, although resistance be not made, murders are committed from mere wantonness, and frequently for no better reason than to try the temper of their swords. The Bráhúí tribes of Sahárawân and Jhálawân are better in this respect than many of the tribes of Kach Gandâva. It must, in justice, be noted, that these marauding tribes are in open rebellion, or contumacious to the authority of Kalât.

Feasting is a prominent characteristic of the Baloch, as of other rude tribes. It may be in part a remnant of ancient custom, and in part a consequence of Máhommedan tenets, which strongly recommend, as acceptable in the true believer, *kairáts*, or charitable distributions of food. They are used on all occasions, whether of rejoicing or of sorrow; every incident of life becomes a pretence for festivity, although, except on important occasions, the entertainment may be restricted to the

family, it being understood here, as elsewhere, in practice at least, that charity begins at home. But the Baloch tribes are too sagacious to trust solely to kairáts in all cases. When afflicted with disease, the first care, after making a kairát, is to procure a távíz, or scrap of paper, on which is written some formulary words, believed to operate as a charm, and to be a specific against the malady. It must be written by some holy or competent person, and saiyads, as being unexceptionable in character, profit, on this score, not a little by the credulity of their clients. Others besides saiyads are, however, eligible, and when at Kalát I was often applied to, and had to scribble a good deal,—not to appear unkind, and to rid myself of importunity. The távíz is not only obtained to cure sickness, but to prevent it; to ensure its owner against wounds in battle; to secure success in amatory affairs; to render a person invisible; in short, it is supposed an antidote against all the ordinary and extraordinary accidents of life. It is singular that daily experience does not diminish faith in these ridiculous remedies; but so strong is the force of confirmed prejudice, and so intense the interest excited in the savage breast for anything wonderful or supernatural, that faith in their virtues continues unimpaired, although contrary to the evidence of sense. The application of medicines is, however, not omitted, for every housewife has her collection of simples. There grows not a plant on the hills or plains to which curative

or sanative qualities are not ascribed ; and it is not improbable, that many of the vegetable productions may be beneficial in sundry diseases ; but the Brá-húís, failing in the discernment requisite to ascertain the particular uses to which their powers might profitably be directed, in general administer them very indiscriminately.

The question of medicines naturally leads to that of disorders, and it is fortunate that the temperance, regularity, and exercise of a pastoral life are conducive to health, and render recourse to the healing art but little necessary. Where there are few physicians, there would appear to be few diseases. In the tomân, no doctor, no sickness ; in the town, plenty of doctors, plenty of sickness. It must be conceded that the tenant of the tomân often suffers from a lingering disorder, which, at its commencement, admitted of easy cure, and is afflicted throughout his existence from having omitted to apply for advice. Neither am I certain that the value of life is greater in the tomân than in the town. There are many diseases to which the inhabitants of town and wild are equally liable. Of these, the *poto*, or casual small-pox, is much dreaded, and sometimes makes extensive ravages. This severe disorder completely baffles all medicinal skill ; and its cure, although of course attributed to charms and *kairáts*, is really the effect of chance or the kindly force of nature. Inoculation is sometimes performed, by scarifying with a razor the inner

portion of the arm an inch or two above the wrist, and binding over the divided skin the dried matter of pustules. It is frequently necessary to repeat the operation twice or thrice before the infection is communicated. Saiyads and priests are the persons employed as inoculators, and receive, as remuneration, a quantity of grain, a sheep, or other small present. The saiyads are preferred, it being believed that their sanctity, as descendants of the Prophet, may have an influence upon the progress and event of the malady. Syncopes, hysterics, and similar affections, are imputed to the presence of jins, or demons; and various are the laughable means adopted to expel the supposed guests. I was once entreated to visit a female slave, who had been suddenly seized with a fainting fit. On arrival I found many persons congregated, busy in writing charms, which they afterwards burned, and applied to her eyes, ears, nostrils, and mouth; it being unanimously decided that she was possessed by a jin.

The Baloch, with a large share of credulity, ignorance, and superstition, allows his wild and fervid imagination to riot in unchecked indulgence. Hence the belief universally entertained of the existence of jins (genii) and perís (fairies). Their notions of these are, indeed, absurd, but often highly poetical and amusing; and endless are the tales which are recited of these supernatural agents, to the delight and wonder of their even-

ing circles. The same easy faith induces the most implicit credence in the numerous extravagantly ridiculous legends connected with their religion, and makes them willing dupes of every impostor who pretends to the character of “búzúrg,” or inspired. In accidents and diseases charms are had recourse to in preference to medicines, and the bite of a snake, as a fever, is expected to be counteracted by a “dam,” or incantation. Some of the Bráhuís, as those in the valley of the Múllah river, pretend to the power of preventing by spells, called “údah,” the discharge of musketballs. I was assured that there are persons so confident in the possession and efficacy of this údah as to suffer themselves to be fired at for a very trifling consideration. The Marrís, a very large tribe, have the reputation of being able to prevent the discharge of artillery. On asking why our European musketry and artillery had never been kept silent by údah, I was told that Europeans were proof against it because they eat swine-flesh. This admission emboldened me to ask again, why they did not eat swine flesh and become proof also. The stranger in Balochistân will not fail to be struck with the formality of the salutations, and the gravity of deportment assumed on such occasions. If the parties be acquainted, they alternately kiss hands; then one commences a series of gratulatory inquiries, embracing the individual, his family, his cattle, &c., as “Darâkh! darâhk! Darâkh júr! Júr

massan ! Massan darâkh ! îlam darâkh ! lashkar darâkh ! tomân darâkh !” &c., &c. ; to which the other incessantly replies, “Fazl ! fazl khodâ ! shûkr ! al-hamd lillâ !” &c. ; or, if an inferior, he repeats, “Meherbânî ! meherbânî !” The first course of inquiries completed, he asks, “Kúbar nettí ?” or “Is there any news ?” Should a third person be present, he is first appealed to as to whether the inquiry for news shall be made, and answers, “Jí îlam,” or “Yes, brother.” The person from whom intelligence is demanded then relates all he knows, or has heard, concerning the khân, the several sirdars, &c. ; and, public affairs dismissed, proceeds to private details, and relates circumstantially where he is come from, where he is going, on what business he went or is yet engaged in, how it was or may be settled, and so forth ; and, having exhausted his subject, concludes by saying “Am ín kadr áwâl ást,” or “this is the extent of my information.” The parties then burst forth into a fresh repetition of gratulatory inquiries, which terminated, the person who has communicated his intelligence asks of the third person if he, in turn, may inquire the news. Upon being answered in the affirmative, he makes the demand, which is complied with in the same minute and important manner. The close is again marked by a renewal of Darâkh ! darâkh ! darâkh júr ! &c., &c. Females present their hands to be embraced, but modestly cover them with their chádars.



The Baloch costume is far from elegant. The men wear a loose upper garment, or frock, called a *khúss*, extending nearly to the feet, and giving a disorderly and womanish appearance. Their *perjâmas*, or trowsers, vary from the Afghân mode, in being narrow at bottom. For coverings to the head, two or three varieties of chintz cap, stuffed with cotton, and fitting close to the head, are in use; but the national cap is the high circular one of cloth, chintz, or *kimkâb*, common also in Sind; the *Bráhuí* one, as well as that of the *Lúmris* of Las, being distinguished by a small tuft or button in the centre of the crown. I have been much perplexed, both here and in Sind, to account for the introduction of this *topi*, as called, for in shape it is the European hat without brims. Affording no shade to the face, it is not very suitable to a warm climate. The inhabitants of towns only wear what can be properly termed shoes. The resident of the *tomân* has a kind of sandal; a broad leather thong, frequently highly decorated and punctured with embroidered holes, encircling the instep, the toes being exposed, while from this thong a more slender one passes round the ancles.

*Lúnhís*, or turbans, are not in general use; the wealthy, of course, have them, and sometimes shawls, besides being wont to wear fanciful garments of silk, *kimkâb*, and British chintzes. In the *tomâns*, one or two of the most opulent persons may be seen decorated with a shawl of mixed cot-

ton and silk. The Baloches are universally filthy in their raiments, and the lower orders absolutely suffer them to fall from their backs through age and dirt.

The women are arrayed in large loose robes or gowns, which cover them from head to foot, and wear no *perjâmas* or trowsers. These robes are ornamented with a profusion of needle-work in silks of divers colours and patterns. Such embellishments extend down the parts concealing the bust, along the respective seams, and around the skirts and long sleeves. From the centre, in front to the skirt, stretches a pocket, which is also profusely decorated. On either side are inserted triangular patches of chintz or silk, of a colour varying from that of the robe, which is usually red. A *châdar*, or large piece of cloth, is universally worn, thrown over the head, and trailing along the ground. The hair of the females is separated from the centre of the forehead, and being made smooth and glossy by some glutinous composition, is brought behind the ears, whence, being plaited or braided in two portions, it depends down the back. It is customary to intermingle with the hair plaits of coloured worsted, which terminate in large bunches or tassels. The head is moreover bound with a fillet of black stuff or silk. The fair sex have a due proportion of trinkets, as armlets, ear-rings, nose-rings, &c. Ornaments of lapis lazuli are very common. Besides puncturing the nostrils for the reception of

rings, it is usual to perforate the cartilage of the nose ; which, in absence of ornaments, supplies the females with a convenient place for inserting their bodkins, needles, and other slender objects. The women in towns, of the wealthy classes, may dress in *perjâmas*, and may affect to hide their faces on the appearance of a stranger ; but these are practices arising from imitation, and contrary to Baloch custom, which, as the Afghân, enjoins not the privacy of women.

It is but justice to observe, that many of the Baloch ladies are very personable. There is a proverb which celebrates the attractions of the females of Níchára, near Kalât, and a high reputation is allowed to the Bízúnjú women of Jhálawân. The complexion of the poor Bráhuí women soon becomes bronzed, in consequence of exposure ; and she assumes a hardy masculine appearance, which alike indicates that she has hardships to encounter, and that she is able to endure them. On a march, the females sustain incredible labour ; they will be seen, without coverings to their heads and feet, arrayed in a coarse black gown, driving before them a camel, cow, or ass, laden with their miserable effects ; while on their backs they carry their infant children, and, as if they had not enough to do, on the road are busily engaged in twirling their handspindles, and spinning coarse threads of wool or hair. The men of a *tomân*, on the march, always start before sunrise, and gain the appointed place of

rare to observe amongst the males what would be called a fine countenance. The facial form is generally inclined to oval; but the forehead is small, as are the eyes; the nose is somewhat flattened, being seldom a prominent feature, the aquiline form is most uncommon, the lips are thin, and the chin insignificant. What has been remarked of the nose may be applied to the whole countenance. It is deficient of prominence in expression or features. In many of the ruder tribes, and the observation holds good with some of the Afghâns, the forehead is so overgrown with hair that it is barely developed. The Lúmrí tribes of Las have a peculiar disposition of features, which at once separates them, the Bráhuís, and other Balloch races, and confirms their affinity with the Rájpút races of India. In stature the Bráhuís do not generally exceed the middle size, to be accounted for by the accidental cause of hard fare, for the wealthy amongst them are as tall as other people. They are otherwise stout and well-proportioned. They wear their hair hanging loosely down their shoulders, and are extremely inattentive to cleanliness. The remarks made by Curtius, as to the disgusting appearance of the long lanky matted hair, hanging down in ropes, of the then inhabitants of the maritime provinces of this country, are at this day perfectly applicable to them, as well as to those of the northern provinces. Amongst the Méd inhabitants of the little towns

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on the coast, may be noted heads of hair exhibiting that exuberance of natural and clustered ringlets, coinciding with the style in vogue during the epochs of the Parthian and Sassanian kings of Persia, as manifested by their coins and the various sculptured monuments dispersed over Persia. The Rinds and Magghassís of Kach Gandâva have universally fine heads of hair, as have the greater proportion of the Jet tribes, and they are easily to be distinguished by their superfluity of pendent curls. The Lúmrís of Las, in common with their kindred races in Sind and the Panjâb, tie the hair in a knot at the crown; a characteristic practice with some of the ancient German tribes, as noted by Tacitus and others. Marriages amongst the Baloches are always celebrated with a variety of festivities. Sang, or betrothal, is the first step, when the parents and friends of the parties assemble, and enter into engagements, which they confirm by repeating fátíha. The interval between betrothal and the union of the young people is employed in the preparation of wedding garments, the fabric of carpets, and other articles for domestic purposes and convenience. A few days before the final ceremony of nikkár takes place, minstrels attend, and the days are passed amid the melodies of vocal and instrumental music. On the marriage-day the bridegroom, arrayed in silks of gaudy colours, mounted on a horse and attended by his friends, makes a considerable circuit, while

he emplores a blessing at some favoured shrine. Large quantities of food are prepared and distributed amongst neighbours; and rejoicings continue for more or less time, according to the means or dispositions of the parties. The bridegroom makes a pecuniary present to the father of the bride, who generally expends it in the purchase of trinkets and necessaries for his daughter. The entire expense of the marriage is defrayed by the bridegroom.

On the birth of an infant there is much rejoicing, and music: distribution of food is also made. On the fourth day a name is conferred, and neighbours assemble to partake of shiríní, or fruits and sweetmeats. On the sixth day, a sheep, or two, will be cooked, and friends entertained. On the seventh day, kâttam, or circumcision, should be performed, although it is often postponed for a year or two. This being an important ceremony, it is distinguished by great festivity and large kairáts. It is, in fact, the consecration of the juvenile member into the bosom of the Máhommedan church, and is an equivalent for the Christian rite of baptism.

On occasions of death, kairáts are never neglected, and are frequently repeated, it being supposed that they benefit the soul of the deceased. The grave for a male is very little sunk, that for a female is made breast deep; it being whimsically alleged that the nature of a woman is so restless, that without a large proportion of earth upon her

she would hardly remain quiet, even in the grave. There are few or no head-stones to the graves of ordinary persons, yet attention is paid to their preservation, and the tumulus above ground is covered with white and black fragments of stone, neatly arranged.

Wives, on the decease of their husbands, neglect washing, and the usual cares bestowed on their persons, and sit making sad lamentations for a space not less than fifteen days, when their female relatives and friends conjure them to desist from weeping, and bring them the powder of *lárra*, (a plant,) with which they lave their heads, and resume their wonted serenity and enjoyments. As it is understood that a widow's grief for the loss of her husband is excessive and sincere, and that she discards it only at the pressing instance of her relatives, should they maliciously not present themselves, she may have to mourn for a longer period, perhaps a month or two.

The domestic economy of the *Bráhuís* is very simple and confined. Milk, so important an article in their household management, is obtained principally from ewes and she-goats; from the former in the largest proportion. Cows are exceedingly rare in *Sahárawân* and *Jhálawân*, and buffaloes still more so. The milk of ewes is known to be heavy, and to yield much cream. I believe it is seldom made use of in England, and that it is unheard of in the vicinity of the metropolis; yet, in these

countries, such as the greater part of Balochistân and Afghânistân, where there is not pasture for the larger animals, it forms the primary object of domestic attention, and forms the basis of a variety of preparations, for which no adequate substitutes are to be found.

Butter and cheese made from ewes'-milk are of good quality; the latter, perhaps, a little pungent; the former is not made from cream, as in England, but from mâss, or curd, placed in an earthen jar, and agitated by a simple machine, consisting of a slender stick, at the end of which two small bars cross each other. It is impelled in its revolutions by the assistance of a string.

Mâss, or curd, is one of the most frequent modes in which milk is employed as food. This is made by simply boiling the milk, and then inserting a portion of butter-milk, which imparts a tendency to coagulation, and a gently acidulated taste. The evening's milk is usually set apart for mâss, the space of a night being necessary to render the conversion perfect; while it is made use of for the repast of the morning. There are many other methods of making mâss, practised in other countries. I only notice that in general use amongst the Bráhúís. An effectual, but reprehensible method, is sometimes employed in Sind, of placing a piece of copper money in boiling milk. Mâss is eaten as a relish or accompaniment to bread and rice. Seasoned with garlic, it is esteemed dainty, and is



a favourite mixture with many. Mâss made into butter, of course, preserves its cream: but milk intended for mâss, may be first deprived of it. The quality only of the curd is affected.

In the preparation of cheese, the Bráhuís have an excellent substitute for rennet in the seeds of a plant, named in consequence, panír-band.

Roghan, or clarified butter, is undoubtedly the product derived from milk of the first consequence, and of the most general use. It is prepared in immense quantities, not only supplying a free consumption amongst the tomâns, but furnishing the necessities of the towns. Roghan is a favourite oleaceous substance in all eastern countries, and is preferred to butter, being better adapted to travelling, and because it preserves its freshness for a more considerable time, and that during the vicissitudes of heat and cold to which it may be exposed. The clarification of butter is effected by simply boiling the substance until its water be absorbed, or until it shows a disposition to granulate. Sometimes a flavor is communicated by the addition of a few grains of jîra or fennel seed, a small portion of sugar, or even a few grains of wheat. A yellow tint is frequently induced, by inserting during the process a little turmeric.

Shelânc of the Bráhuís, or krút of the Afghâns, is another preparation from milk. It is made by boiling buttermilk until the original quantity is reduced one half. The thickened fluid is then placed

in a bag of hair or wool, and suffered to drain, exposed to the solar heat. When the draining ceases the mass in the bag is formed into small dumps, which are dried unto hardness in the sun. When required for use, these dumps are pounded and placed in warm water, where they are worked by the hands until dissolved. The thickened fluid is then boiled with a share of roghan, and provides a meal, by having bread saturated in it. This is a favourite article of food in Afghânistân and western Persia. The Afghân preparation excels the Bráhuí. It is a convenient food for travellers, being easy of transport and readily served.

The milk of camels is but partially employed in the districts of upper Balochistân. It is much made use of in Las, and in northern Sind, where of all milk it is esteemed the sweetest. The abundance of ewes' milk completely supersedes its use in Sahárawân and the neighbourhood of the capital, where the flocks are so numerous that it is customary for the experienced housewives of Kalât, during the vernal season, to repair to the adjacent hills, and to contract for the milk of a certain number of ewes, at the rate of one rupee for two, during three successive months. They remain with the flocks, and prepare quantities of roghan, krút, &c., with which they return laden to their homes.

The favoured inhabitants of the smiling districts of Mastúg and Shâll, where Pomona has bounti-

fully dispersed her treasures, have in their fruits during their respective seasons a store of sanative and luxuriant condiments, while the immense surplus of mulberries and apricots, which are carefully dried, supply them with an equally wholesome and nutritious diet during winter. Dried mulberries have a peculiar and grateful flavour like melilates, or honeyed gingerbread. Dried apricots are eaten as an accompaniment to bread, by being beaten up with water, and boiled with a proportion of roghan. The dish is called *chamarí*, and may be made very agreeable, if duly spiced. In the districts of *Khárân*, *Núshkí*, &c., where the hing plant, or *ferula assafoetida*, is found, it is largely employed as food. The entire plant is used, and the natives are loud in their commendations of its zest and flavour, terming it "*khúsh korák*," or "pleasant food." Great quantities of this plant are, in season, brought to *Kalât*, and consumed chiefly by *Hindús*. The stem is, by the *Bráhuís*, simply roasted. In like manner is eaten the stem of another species of *ferula*, called "*húshí*," (*opopanax*?) found abundantly in the hills. The hing plant is, moreover, pickled at *Kalât*, and is not unpalatable, retaining, however, that peculiar flavour which characterizes it. In *Núshkí* and *Gúrghína*, *rawásh*, or native rhubarb, abounds. It is also used for food, the leaf stalks being selected. They are either roasted or eaten in a crude state, and are esteemed for their acidulated taste.

In Khárân large quantities of a concrete whitish gum exude from a species of gaz, called shakr-gaz. It has a sweet taste, and is brought for sale to Kalât, where an ass's load is exchanged for two ass loads of wheat. In Khárân, during a deficiency of grain, it serves as a substitute for bread. As a stock for the winter season, the Bráhúí housewife prepares the entire carcasses of one or more sheep, according to her means, by a process somewhat analogous to that by which bacon is got up. I do not remember to have seen such preparations in European countries, and they appeared to be worthy of imitation; the process being simple, and the meat well preserved and flavoured, indeed resembling bacon. At the opening of the cold season the animal is killed, the entire carcass deprived of the bones, and extended by means of short sticks. It is then well rubbed with common salt, and hung up on the ceiling of a room, or on its sides, or even without the house, that it may dry completely. It is not uncommon for the inner and outer walls of masjíts to be covered with these flitches of mutton, and I never heard of any portion of them being purloined. The viscera, and all other edible parts of the sheep, are also salted and dried, but hung up distinct from the carcass. Mutton, so prepared, is called khaddít by the Bráhúís, and lándí by the Afghâns. In Panjghúr it is prepared by being spiced as well as salted, and is said to be superior.

Independently of the articles of sustenance afforded by their flocks and herds, the fleeces of the one, and the hairy hides of the other furnish materials for clothing, and other necessary and useful objects, while, beside household cares, the principal occupation of the women consists in their fabric. The skins of sheep and goats are made into massaks, or vessels for the retention of water. They also serve to contain flour. Sufficiently cleanly, they are well adapted for the transport of water over extensive plains, slung in the rear, or on the side of the camel sheltered from the sun. If on arrival at the place of halt a tree be at hand, the massak, suspended on a branch, preserves the water delightfully cool.

The wool of sheep is beaten by slender sticks, or rods, held in either hand, and alternately descending until it be reduced to a pulp fit for the fabric of namads, or felts. It is also spun into threads and woven into carpets, which are coloured with madder, indigo, turmeric, &c., all of which operations are carried on within tomâns. The leaves of apple-trees are collected at their fall in autumn, and preserved for use as a yellow dye, which is, I believe, a novel application of them. The hair of camels is often used as a base to carpets, upon which the lines, or various patterns in worsted are worked. It is exclusively adapted to the fabric of the coarse black coverings for tents, and for a variety of furniture for the living animal. As well as wool, it is employed

in the construction of ropes and strings. Cloaks, here called shálls, are made of the same materials, and are in general use, varying in fineness of texture ; some of them are gaudily decorated with floss silk, of varied colours. The better fabrics of Níchára have a very gay appearance. As a general rule, the manufactures, if we may so term them, of the Baloch pastoral tribes, are as much surpassed by those of the corresponding classes in Afghânistân, as these latter are by the productions of the same grade of artisans in Persia.

It will be seen that the chief, if not the whole labour of a pastoral family, falls upon the woman. It is the same in all barbarous communities, and is the consequence of a rude state of society. The Bráhúí never condescends to eat with his wife, and she patiently waits upon him during his repast, and cheerfully retires when it is completed, to regale upon the fragments which have been spared. The dwellings of the Bráhúís are formed by a number of long slender poles, bent and inverted towards each other, over which are extended slips of the coarse fabric of camel-hair, before noted, and dyed, generally black. The direction of the length is from east to west, the better to exclude the sun's rays. The interior management is as simple as the exterior. On the one side are piled up their bags of grain, flour, and other necessities, which are concealed from view by a carpet spread over them in front, while above them are piled their stock of

carpets and felts, neatly folded. The culinary utensils of the Bráhuís are chiefly of copper, tinned, as are their dishes and ewers. They place their cakes of bread in carpet-bags, also their flour and salt. A single tent is called a búnghí, an assemblage of tents, a tomân; and this is designated from the principal personage or patriarchal chief residing in it, as the tomân of Fatí Máhoméd, the tomân of Pír Baksh, &c., &c.

Slavery is general throughout Balochistân, and there is no family of the least consideration that has not its complement of male and female slaves. These are generally Sídís, or negroes procured from the coast, whither they are brought from Maskát. At Kalât there are some slaves both of Baloch and Afghân origin; but the condition of these is generally better than that of the negro, who, if not absolutely ill-used, is not much considered in matters of food and clothing. Khânazâdas, or slaves, born in the families of their owners are more favoured. Many of them are placed under the charge of a múlla when young, and acquire the accomplishments of reading, writing, &c. They are, moreover, confidentially employed, well apparelled, and as respectable and comfortable as slaves can be. Mehráb Khân had a great number of khânazâdas; many of them were opulent, and preferred to the government of his towns, and other high offices. The late Sháhghâssí Núr Máhoméd, the present Dárogah, Gúl Máhoméd, and Réhímdád,

were all khânazâdas. The proprietors of slaves exercise over them an absolute power of life and death, without right of appeal to the tribunals of the country ; or, in other words, the law does not interfere in questions between masters and slaves.



## PART VII.

## NATURAL HISTORY, &amp;c.

## QUADRUPEDS.

THE palang, or leopard, would seem to be the most formidable of the wild animals ranging the hills of Sahárawân, yet the species is not abundant. Kaftárs, or hyenas, are more numerous, and the daring huntsman sometimes makes them the objects of his chace.

Gurges, or wolves, exist in considerable numbers, and it is a common occurrence for huntsmen to expose, in the hills, the carcase of a dead animal, and placing themselves in ambush to shoot these beasts as they assemble for prey. Wolves, during the winter, become sufficiently audacious to attack man, and to carry off children.

There is an animal called peshkozeh, which is represented to be larger than a cat, with a reddish-coloured hide. It moves in companies, and attacks deer and sheep. Its mode of descending perpendicular precipices, as described, is singular, each animal fixing his teeth in the tail of another, and forming a kind of chain.

Perhaps the most interesting animal found in this country is the wild mountain-sheep. It exists in great numbers. Its fleece is tinged with a deep red hue, the breast of the male being of a glossy black, and that of the female of a delicate whiteness. The male has very long spiral horns: in the hills near Mastúg is a variety with straight tapering horns. The male has also a long beard, attains a much larger size than the female, and has a very fine appearance. The females are said to bring forth every spring two young ones, a male and female. In the season of breeding combats amongst the males are general, the females standing aloof, and becoming the rewards of the victors. At such times they are unusually thirsty, a circumstance of which hunters profit, by concealing themselves near the spots where they are constrained to repair for water, and thence deliberately taking aim at them. After the period of delivery, great numbers of the young are carried off by the Bráhúís, and brought to Kalât for sale. The hunting of the wild-sheep is a favourite pastime in Balochistân. In winter, the Bráhúi follows the chase, and continues to do so until the close of spring. The meat of this animal is very dark-coloured, but is esteemed delicious food. The skins are favourite substitutes for carpets or mats, to repeat prayers upon; and many of the masjíts, in the little villages amongst the hills, have their floors spread over with them. The horns of the beast adorn the exteriors of the

buildings, and, with the antlers of deer, are frequently ostentatiously suspended on trees and rustic shrines. I may note, that many persons assured me that the straight, tapering horned animal alluded to above, was the wild-goat; and, I believe, our European gentlemen have pronounced it to be the ibex. The gúr-khar, or wild-ass, was formerly to be found on the dasht Gúrân, and in Gúrghína, but has disappeared of late years. It is still occasionally seen about Khárân. It also ranges the plain of Dálbanding, on the road from Núshkí to Jálk. South-easterly of Kalât, it is said, to be found on the Pat of Shikárpúr, between Tambú and Rojân. Nasír Khân had one of these animals, which is said to have become quite tame. The flesh of the gúr-khar is esteemed lawful food.

Khasm, or deer, are common in the hills, as are hares on the plains. A yellow or dun-coloured ground rat is universal throughout the country, as are jackáls. Hedgehogs are not rare.

#### BIRDS.

The birds of this part of the world mostly resemble those to be met with in more eastern regions. The common crow; the bird with black plumage and long forked tail, called by Europeans king of the crows; the handsome speckled and crested bird, called here murg súlímân, the common

sparrow, the crested lark, the cuckoo dove, the wild pigeon, the mainah, the kingfisher, called mítú, with the large common vulture, called khâlmâlak, may all be seen in Hindústân. Besides them are the raven, the magpie, the daw, and a bird intermediate in size between the raven and crow, of very glossy black plumage, with red beak and legs. Its meat is reputed good. There are also owls, hawks, swallows, and two or three varieties of birds of small size and dull plumage. In Las and Kach Gandâva are perroquets; and on the shores of the former province are large flocks of flamingoes. In a dry elevated region, like Sahárawân and the greater part of Jhálawân, aquatic fowl are, of course, but rare, yet large flocks of them annually pass over, in their migrations. Ducks are to be found about Sohráb, and again near Khárân. The smaller kinds of game, as partridges and quail, are plentiful, the titta, the chikhor, the búdína, &c., and in Kach Gandâva the hobára, a splendid variety of bustard, prevails. As Sind is approached, the wild fowl, the original of our domestic poultry, ranges in the jangal.

## INSECTS.

Of the insects common, the two or three varieties of wasp, and a large species of hornet, are analogous to those of warmer countries. Gad-flies are like

those of England, and the ordinary white butterfly is abundant. At Kalât the caterpillar is a very beautiful object, and has a length of four or five inches. Beetles of a large size abound. There is a very troublesome bug, called mangúr, which infests the houses of Kalât, and annoys by its bite both natives and strangers, the latter more severely. It is always seen bloated with blood. By some, its presence is imputed to the juniper cedar wood employed in the construction of every house, by others to the mud used in raising the walls. There is no mode of avoiding the attack of this insect, but cold bathing is recommended to prevent the ill consequences of its wounds. There are likewise, of ordinary insects, dragon-flies, ladybirds, skippers, soldiers and sailors, ear-wigs, ground-fleas, crickets, grasshoppers, gnats, scorpions, centipedes, &c., &c.

#### AMPHIBIA.

Of this class there are land tortoises, frogs, toads, lizards and serpents. Of lizards there are two varieties common to the soil, the large gúána, or shúsh már, as called, and a small species, most abundant, called chelpâssa. On walls, and in every house is a small lizard, the fly-catcher. The excrement of the gúána is held in repute for some medicinal properties, particularly for ailments of the eye. Serpents are by no means few, and their bites

are considered venomous. I doubt it, as instances thereof, which fell under my observation, were always relieved by no more effectual remedy than a dam, or incantation.

## BOTANY.

To the botanist the vegetable productions of Sahárawân and Jhálawân undoubtedly present an ample field for the gratification of his delightful and favourite studies. I have to regret the want of scientific information, which permits me only to enumerate some of the more conspicuous objects which present themselves in this elegant department.

To myself, a superficial observer, the similarity and approximation of the vegetable productions of Balochistân, and those of India, on the one side, and of Persia on the other, could not but be apparent. In the southern provinces there are few plants not to be found in Western India; in the northern provinces very many occur which are to be met with in the hills and valleys of Shírâz and Persepolis. The vegetation of Persia is, however, more vigorous.

The olive-tree, or zaitún, is found in the hills of Jhálawân and Sahárawân, and appears to extend over all the mountainous tract between the meridian of Kalât and that of the Indus. It

flourishes in the hills of the Súlímân range, and of Bangash. It is also a native of the hills of Shíráz.

The ghwen, or galangúr, (the banní, or bínah, of the Shíráz hills,) is a middle-sized tree, abundant on the lower hills and less elevated regions of the superior ones of Sahárawân, where it is always observed to fail where the juniper cedar-tree commences. This tree, a species of mastich, bears clusters of berries of a red or purplish tint, when mature, in which it differs from the Persian species, whose berries, when ripe, are white, or yellowish, like those of the mistletoe. The skin of the berry covers a viscous matter, in which is enclosed a stone with a kernel, yielding to expression a bland oil. A gum-resin exudes from the trunk and branches of this tree, which is supposed to possess vulnerary virtues; but is here not collected. In Persia it is applied to useful purposes in the arts. The berries, having an acidulated flavour, are eaten by the Bráhúís.

The appúrs, or juniper cedar-tree, seems more peculiar to the mountains of Sahárawân. It contributes by its solemn and majestic appearance to the scenery of the hills, and is the wood principally used at Kalât for purposes of building and fuel. It abounds on the eastern ranges of Sahárawân, and on Chehel Tan, delighting in the superior regions. It bears clusters of berries, which are gathered, when perfected, and sent for sale

as medicines to Sind and Hindústân. The appúrs is said to be the harhár kohí of Persian authors.

The síáh-chob, or black-wood, is a shrubby tree of the Sahárawân hills. It has a variety of perpendicular stems, shooting to the height of ten or twelve feet. The leaves are minute, and the branches bear thorns. It derives its name from the colour of its stems, which are, however, dark red, rather than black. This tree is found in the hills of the Hindú Kosh, north of the Kohistán of Kâbal, and there yields shírkhist, or manna.

The mazmúk is a low bushy shrub, also with thorns and minute leaves, which bears, in large tears, a very pure gum, varying in shade from a clear white to yellow and red. It is found on the higher hills of Sahárawân. The gum is neglected, or nearly so, although it might be procured in quantity, and the finer specimens are not excelled in translucence or purity by gum-arabic.

The fig-tree is a native of the hills of Balochistán, as of those of Persia. It is found in the sheltered situations of ravines and water-courses. Its matured fruit is very palatable, the rind white, and the inner pulp of a lively red.

The hills of Sahárawân have, according to my observation, four varieties of ferula, the most important of which is the hing, or fêrula assafoetida. This plant spreads itself over a large extent of country, being found on the western hills of Sahárawân, and on those of Núshkí, Shoráwak, and



Peshing. It even occurs so far south as the neighbourhood of Wad, in Jhálawân. It is found in the vicinity of Sístân, and flourishes extremely in some parts of western Khorasân, as near Ghain, whence, *viâ* Kândahár, passes to the east much of the assafoetida of commerce. Again, it becomes an article of lucrative traffic with the natives of Séghân, Kámerd, Ajer, &c., north of Bámiân, whose hills and valleys produce the plant abundantly.

The gum-resin is collected at Núshkí, and was formerly at Gúrghína, but the plant there in late years is said to have failed. Little of the produce of Balochistân finds its way into the markets beyond its frontiers. It is in general use as a savoury ingredient in cookery, and the green plant is universally eaten. The assafoetida of commerce is usually adulterated with flour, sand, and other substances. A test of its purity is affirmed to be, the retention of its liquescency for a year. With respect to the medicinal virtues of assafoetida, its anthelmintic powers are alone known to the Bráhúís, who administer the seeds of the plant to children afflicted with worms, and distribute the gum-resin amongst their melon fields, to preserve the plants from the ravages of earth worms. They conclude that the quantities of the drug annually passing through their country to Bombay are destined to similar purposes.

The ferula, next to assafoetida in importance, is called húshí; it is, I suspect, the Persian jowáshír,

and may be the *pastinaca opopanax*. It bears a gum-resin, but this is wholly neglected. The green plant is roasted and eaten by the Bráhuís. This *ferula*, like the *assafoetida*, ranges over a large extent of country, but is more universal than that plant. I believe that it everywhere accompanies the *assafoetida*, but it is also common on the granite and gneiss ranges of Kâbal, to which the more valuable vegetable is a stranger. There is an irregularity in the dispersion of the *assafoetida*, but which no doubt admits of explanation. I have seen it only on hills of secondary formation, on those of Shoráwak and Séghân, but had not the opportunity of verifying whether it is peculiar to them. The húshí flourishes vigorously on the hills near Kâbal, and large quantities of the gum-resin might be obtained. Esteemed a vulnerary, it enters into the composition of ointments, but no further use is made of it. The dried stems are sold in the bazárs as fuel, and selected ones are distributed in the roofs of houses.

There are two other species of *ferula*, much inferior in size to the húshí. On neither of them could I detect any gum-resin. They are very general.

A variety of the gaz, or tamarisk tree, flourishing principally in Khárân, but found also in the valley of the Múlloh river, yields a sweet-tasted gum, as has been elsewhere noted. The tree producing it differs from the common variety of tamarisk in

having white flowers in place of red ones, and that its verdure is of a more lively, although paler green. The variety in question bears also a species of galls, which, like those of the oak tree, are used as mordants in dyeing. The gum and tree have both the name of shakr-gaz, and the galls are called sákor. I have reason to believe that this species of tamarisk is known in the swamps of Mazándêrân. The common tamarisk, or gaz, is met with along the entire line of road from Súnmiání to Sháll, and indeed from thence to Kándahár, Gazní, and Kâbál, but never larger than a straggling bush, and always in swampy grounds. This tree thrives particularly in the valley of the Indus, at Bahâwalpúr, Múltân, Pesháwer, and at Jelálabád. It is the athello of the Arabs. A solitary tree of the species amongst the ruins of old Babylon, is supposed by some to be a vestige of the famed hanging gardens. Be this as it may, the athello, or gaz, as a shrub, still fringes the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris.

The oleander, or gandélí, as called, is found in the stony beds of the torrents of Balochistân. With its handsome appearance and splendid tufts of flowers it enlivens many a dreary scene. A native of the hills south of Shíraz, it is found, in delightful contrast to the bold and stern features of the rocky landscape, along the beds of the mountain rivulets which traverse them. The plant is poisonous to cattle, and its firm-pointed leaves possess acrid properties. Its Bráhuí name is jowar, and “am chí

tálín ka jowar," or "as bitter as jowar," is a proverb.

Two or three varieties of willows are found in Sahárawân, near water-mills, or on the banks of canals. They are not indigenous, neither are the poplars, chanárs, or planes, and cypresses, to be seen in gardens.

The plains of Sahárawân, as well as of Jhálawân, so far south as Bâghwân, are covered with two notable varieties of plants; one called búntí, or terk, the other kâr-shútúr. The former has two species, the stalks of the one white or yellowish, of the other red, constituting the white and the red terk. The latter is esteemed a febrifuge. This plant is general over the wilds of Afghânistân. It has a fragrant and peculiar odour, like rue, which it imparts to the passing breeze. It is eagerly eaten by camels, sheep, and goats, and, when dried, is collected for fuel. The kâr-shútúr, or camel's-thorn, is, as its name implies, a thorny bush, and a favourite food of camels. Besides these, the mangúlí is a common plant, bearing yellow flowers. It is said to be poisonous to horses and camels, not so to sheep and goats. About Kalât, and generally in cultivated ground, the shír-gúnar is a frequent plant, from which exudes a highly acrid milk. Near the skirts of hills, and in their lower regions, are a number of odoriferous plants. During the spring, so profuse is the vegetation on the hills that numbers of sheep constantly die of repletion. The

animals burst, and their flesh, while eaten, becomes nearly black. The hills of Sahárawân and Jhá-lawân boast a great diversity of flowering plants with bulbous roots. Of these, the varieties of the lâla, or tulip, of the orchis, &c., are most conspicuous. Pinks are general. Amongst the many other plants of the plain, and of the little pasture-ground occurring, are several common in England, as clover, hawkweed, mallows, thyme, horse-mint, dandelion, star-flowers, docks, iris, camomile, cuckoo's bread and cheese, &c.

The wild white rose abounds on the hills of Sahárawân, and seems to select the higher elevations. The petals are gathered for medicinal uses, and females and children make themselves necklaces of the scarlet hips. As we proceed northward towards Kâbal, the wild rose is of a yellow colour, and, with its blossoms covering the entire stems and branches, is a magnificent object. Its leaves are most minute. Red and white wild roses at Kâbal are very seldom seen, but again prevail in certain favoured spots in the Hazârajât.

A thorny bush, called shínálúk, abounds on the hills of Kalât, and is much used as fuel. It bears yellow flowers, like the furze-bush, and, like it, burns fiercely and with a crackling noise. The true furze embellishes with its golden blossoms the neighbourhood of Wad.

Of the many plants found in the hills, there are some possessing medicinal properties, and some

which are useful in other ways. Of the medicinal plants, híshwarg and panírband may be noted. They both delight in temperate climates, and are found principally amongst the hills of Jhálawân. They are alike natives of the hills of Eastern Afghânistân. Híshwarg, which may be a species of *justicia*, is esteemed a refrigerant and febrifuge. The leaves and roots, of a harsh bitter taste, are used in decoction, the roots being deemed most effectual. Pánírband (the cheese-maker) is the constant companion of the former, and a very similar plant in appearance and manner of growth, there being slight differences in the colour of the leaves and form of the flowers. Pánírband has leaves of a mouse colour, and its flowers are umbelliferous, while those of híshwarg are of the tuberosé description. In the former they are succeeded by globular seed vessels, the parts of the plant held of value. These are invested with a yellow, waxy pulp, when ripened, of an astringent and sweetly bitter taste, and are much celebrated for their efficacy in pains and disorders of the stomach. In the valley of the Indus, where they are sold in shops, I have witnessed that they are serviceable. In such cases, I could not account for their mode of action, although I could readily believe them to be tonic. Inserted in milk, they have the property of coagulating it, whence they serve as substitutes for rennet, and this circumstance has conferred upon the plant its name. Besides these, the *plantago*, *ispaghul*, is common,

and, as a demulcent, is much used. Another plant, called yútrangan, and by Afghâns trikandar, is celebrated, however idly, for its aphrodisiac virtues. The cassia senna, common in Sind, prevails along the line of coast westward. It is also found so far north as Hâshtnagar, in the plain of Peshâwer. This is one of those plants which distinctly exhibits the sexual variations, like the date tree, and lasúra, or cordia myxa.

Amongst the useful plants, the fiesh, a species of aloe, is perhaps the more generally so. From its fan-like leaves are manufactured mats, ropes, sandals, and numerous articles of domestic convenience. This plant affects a mild moderate temperature. In Afghânistân it is a native of the hills of Bangash and Peshâwer. The thin flexile branches and stems of the gíshtar are made into a substitute for whipcord and catgut by the Bráhuís; the plant has no leaves. They are also considered strengthening diet for camels, which eagerly feed on them. The mármút, a variety of lichen, is sometimes employed as food, but more generally as a medicine; it is thought efficacious in diseases of debility.

It will be seen, from the preceding observations, that Balochistân, while it may boast of some variety in its plants, is by no means a woody country. The largest trees indigenous to its hills are the ghwen and ápurs, and neither has a height exceeding twenty to twenty-five feet. While the variations in

latitude of the several provinces are not important, the differences in elevation are sufficient to cause a strong contrast in their vegetable productions. This is very observable with regard to the provinces of Sahárawân and Kach Gandâva, under the same parallel. In the former are to be seen most of the trees and plants I have enumerated; in the latter are to be met with, of indigenous growth, little beyond stunted mimosas, bérs, and karíls. The southern and maritime province of Las has a few trees of Indian origin, which may be considered importations, as the kénatti (palma Christi), the doguri (ficus religiosa), and the emmali or amblí (tamar Indicus), with the nim (melia azadarachta). It has others common to both countries, as the tamarisk, the pérú, the bér, the perpúk, the karil, the dédár, and a few which, if not peculiar to it, are not found eastward, as the gúgúl, producing the gum-bdelium, the olive, the krúp, a species of capparis, &c.

## MINERALOGY.

That a country possessing so large a proportion of mountainous surface as Balochistân, should be destitute of metallic and mineral treasures is hardly to be credited. That they are unknown or neglected, must be ascribed to the ignorance and apathy of the inhabitants. The extensive regions under note have never been scientifically explored,



and present, no doubt, an ample field to reward skilful research. That the metallic and mineral treasures have not been developed, we are told is owing to an aversion to excite the cupidity, or to promote the benefit, of the Dúránís, who claim the produce of mines. The sulphur mines of Kach Gandâva, worked formerly with vivacity, were held by them under a military force, and the revenue was enjoyed by the governor of Déra Ghází Khân.

The mountain chains of Balochistân are of compact limestone, enclosing, as instanced at Chehel Tan, marine shells and corals, identical with similar objects picked up on the sea shores at this day. At the skirts of the ranges bordering on Kach Gandâva and Sind, where evidences of a peculiar action are manifest in tepid and sulphureous springs, marine petrifications of an earlier date are frequent; at least, not to be identified with the present products of the ocean. The parallelism of the principal ridges of Balochistân deserves attention, particularly as it pervades by far the greater part of the chains which, radiating southward from the primary belt of the Caucasus, rib as it were this part of the world. The direction is from north by east to south by west. The minor ranges, which stretch into the northern Panjâb, from the Pir Panjâl belt, east of the Indus; and west of that river, the ranges which define the limits of Shamlâ, Banú, Sohât, and Bájore, with those farther to the westward, separating Lughmân

from Taghoh and Nijroh; and again these places from the Kohistân and Koh Dâman, have all the same inclination; so has the chain bounding to the west Koh Dâman and the Kohistân, while supporting the elevated mountainous region of the Hâzârajât. Farther south the hills of eastern Bangash, the long chain of Chaisaghar, or Takht Sûlimân, west of the Indus, the ranges intersecting the country south of Ghazní, and between it and Shâll, have a strictly conformable course. In Balochistân the continuity of the system of parallelism is preserved by the chains separating Kach Gandâva and the valley of Sind from Sahârawân and Jhâlawân, by the minor ridges extending west of them, until they merge into the loftier barrier of Khwoja Amrân, dividing Sahârawân, Sherrúd, and Peshing from Shorâwak, Búldak, and the vicinity of Kândahár.

It must not, however, be supposed that all the mountains in this part of the world have the same direction. While there is evidently one system, distinguished by its inclination from north to south, there is as palpably another extending from east to west. Belonging to it are the Seféd Koh range, south of the Jelâlabâd valley, the Siâh Koh, north of the same valley; the ridges south of the valley of Kâbal, and the range traversing the chains of Sahârawân, and marking the course of the Bolan river. To examine the structure of these various hills would, no doubt,

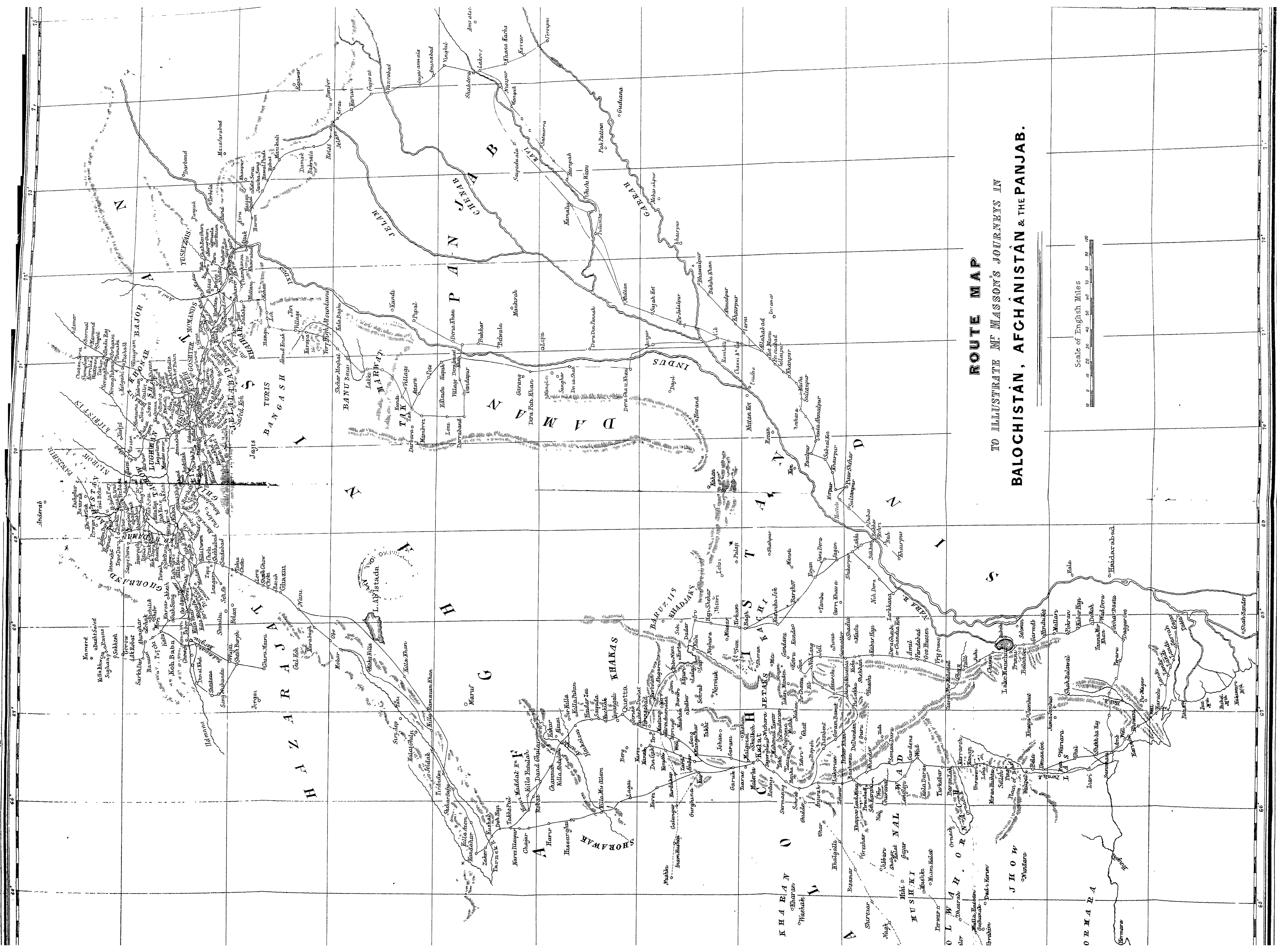
be a labour of interest, and one which might lead to the confirmation of many important geognostic theories, or displace them by others more agreeable to facts. I regret it is in my power only to show there is something to be done. While the hills of Balochistân, that is the more considerable ones, are of limestone, as we proceed northward, and approach the superior belt of Caucasus, in the vicinity of Kâbal, the ridges are composed of gneiss and mica slates. There are also ridges of pure granite; and there is one circumstance which struck me,—that the pure granite is always attended by genuine slate, while the spurious granite, or gneiss, is never without mica slate. Very many of the granite ranges in the vicinity of the Caucasus being distinct, are highly instructive, as the peculiarities of their construction and conformation become apparent. These have, I believe invariably on the one front, a bold, and more or less abrupt aspect; on the other, towards their bases, they support a mass of upraised schistose strata.

Of metals known to exist, lead is most abundant, being found at Khozdâr, in the hills between Sind and Balochistân, and again in the ranges between Kalât and Panjghûr. The same hills yield antimony. Iron obviously occurs in the hills north of Béla, and so widely dispersed a metal must needs be found in many other places. Copper is believed to occur in the hills west of Sohrâb and Ghiddar, also at Kísandûn, between Sohrâb and Rodinjo.

The sulphur mines of Kachí are in the hills west of Súrân and Sanní. They are lazily worked, and yield a profit of twelve thousand rupees annually. Formerly they yielded five times as much. The ore is carried to Bâgh for purification. It is effected by boiling the pounded matter in oil, until the fluid is evaporated, when the stones and impurities subside, and the sulphur remains on the surface. Fine porcelain clay abounds in the low hills between Kalât and Mangachar; much of the limestone of the hills is so translucent as to be, in fact, excellent marble. Boles and ochres are common, and in the Bolan valley is an earth resembling fullers'-earth, and applied to similar purposes. Coal occurs both in the Bolan pass and in the hills of Gúrghína. Agates, and fragments of jasper, are found in the hills east of Kalât, near Shalkoh, and are used in place of flints.

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**ROUTE MAP**  
TO ILLUSTRATE MR. MASSON'S JOURNEYS IN  
**BALUCHISTÂN, AFCHÂNISTÂN & THE PANJAB.**

